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No Romanian Permission on Resettlement Reached

LD2610132988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] The Hungarian Government is ready to grant a resettlement permit at once to those Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality who are at our homeland's embassy in Sofia. For this, however, the assent of the Romanian side is needed, and so far it has not arrived.

This was stated by the state secretary for foriegn affairs, Gyula Horn, in reply to a question at his parliamentary press conference, held on the occasion of the World Congress of the American Society of Travel Agents in Budapest.

Gyula Horn said that in mid-September 12 people of Hungarian nationality had asked for permission for settlement. Since then the responsible Hungarian and Romanian had held several rounds of talks, but no conclusion had been reached.

Bloc Military Exercises Continue

Military Inspection in Hungary

LD2010100488 Budapest MTI in English 2041 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—The foreign military observers who are in Hungary to inspect a joint Hungarian-Soviet exercise, continued their work on Wednesday [19 October]. In the morning, they visited Soviet armoured and artillery units, and an ambulance battalion. In the afternoon, they inspected the entrainment of the units of the Szombathely brigade of the Hungarian People's Army at Hajmasker railway station. Since the number of troops involved in the exercise have now gone below 17,000, the observers from 18 countries ended their activity with this action.

The commanders of the Hungarian People's Army and of the exercise provided the conditions for the observers' work in keeping with the Stockholm document.

Hungarian Exercise Ends

LD2110022788 Budapest MTI in English 1607 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI) The joint military exercise which has been taking place in Hungary, involving units of the Hungarian People's Army and the appointed staffs and troops of the Soviet Army, ended on Thursday [20 October]. The units which participated have begun returning to their garrisons. The exercise involved 16,500 Soviet and 500 Hungarian troops, with 321 tanks, 222 artillery units of 100 mm and larger calibre, 26 helicopters and several aircraft. This was the first time foreign observers had attended a military exercise in Hungary: 36 observers from 18 countries arrived here on the basis of the document approved at the Stockholm Conference on Security and Confidence-Building.

GDR Maneuvers Observed

LD1910193188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The joint troop exercises by the group of Soviet forces in Germany (GSFG) and the GDR National People's Army (NVA) continued today in the Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg regions. Under the direction of Major General Aleksey Mityukhin, commander of an army of the GSFG, 17,700 members of the 2 fraternal armies are taking part. They are equipped with 578 tanks, 537 launchers for anti-tank guided missiles on armored vehicles, 208 artillery pieces of a calibre of 100-mm or larger, 34 multiple rocket launchers, and 41 helicopters. Fewer than 200 aircraft sorties are envisaged.

The troops are moving into their concentration areas and starting bases according to plan, establishing their positions, and actively preparing for the test at the end of the training year.

In accordance with the final document of the Helsinki CSCE, 33 representatives from 17 CSCE signatory countries arrived in Magdeburg today to observe the exercise. They come from Bulgaria, the FRG, the CSSR, Denmark, Finland, France, Britain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Canada, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary, and the United States.

On behalf of the GDR Government and of Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, they were welcomed by Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, [name as received] deputy chief of the NVA Main Staff. In his speech he said that the observers' presence is an expression of the effectiveness of the Stockholm document. Their presence is a contribution by the governments of the CSCE states to flesh out the process that was set in motion. The GDR is actively working to see that, on the basis of the strict implementation of the Stockholm document by all signatory states, further accords for the consolidation of confidence and security are achieved without delay.

From the GDR's point of view, this requires a reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The proposals and initiatives for this proposed by the Warsaw Pact states, including the GDR, are well-known.

He expressed the certainty that over the next few days, as has been the case with previous exercises on GDR territory, there will be many opportunities to exchange views in frank and trustful talks on the preservation of peace and the continuation of the process of confidence-building and disarmament in a spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding. The maneuver observers will be able to see how the members of the two armies have implemented the joint defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact in their training, Major General Magnitzke said.

The deputy director of the exercise, Major General Anatoliy Koretskiy, then gave a briefing on the objective, starting position, and stages of the exercise, using maps and diagrams.

Observers Comment

LD2210183388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—On the Joint Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and NVA troop exercises foreign observers of the maneuver told GDR journalists:

Colonel Simon Palmisano (Austria): Our observer activity corresponded to the guidelines of the Stockholm document. The mere fact that it has now become routine for military forces from the various alliances and neutral and nonaligned countries to meet is a suitable factor to create confidence. That, I believe, is the most important aspect. I am my country's representative at the Vienna negotiations. The findings gained here will no doubt influence Austria's position at these negotiations. In this sense the observation of this exercise was also extremely useful.

Lieutenant Colonel Wietse Bijlsma (Netherlands): Every observation is a step forward. I consider it significant that here colleagues from the East and West as well as neutral countries are talking to one another. We have the opportunity for many talks, and such talks always foster confidence. This exercise promotes the ideas initiated in Stockholm.

Major General Richard Swinburn (Great Britain): Working conditions were excellent. I am the commander of a British division in the FRG. If one discusses matters which are of common interest, then this will result in confidence. My work as an observer has given me a much better understanding of the worth of the Stockholm document. I believe we should continue to make further progress in the direction now adopted.

GDR Enters 'Combat' Phase

LD2210182288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0958 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The joint troop exercises of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army on GDR territory will enter its decisive phase today with combat operations. Representatives of 17 GSCE signatory states will again be watching the action from various observation sites in the Magdeburg training centre. As part of their work they will visit a mortar battery, speak with Soviet soldiers and attend the movement of the first exercise units back to their garrisons in the late afternoon.

This evening the international military representatives will be seen off in Magdeburg on behalf of the GDR Government and the minister of national defense.

Pact Officers Meet With Kessler in Magdeburg

LD2110154988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1509 21 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Generals, admirals, and officers of the Warsaw Pact defense ministries are currently in the GDR for several days of deliberations.

In the Magdeburg area (Bezirk) today, in the presence of GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, they acquainted themselves with the fulfillment of the decisions by the 11th SED Congress. Prior to this, on a visit to institutions and units of the National People's Army, they were able to convince themselves of how the requirements arising from the military doctrine of the socialist states are being realized in the military training of troops and officers.

Army General Kessler expressed his conviction that the collective exchange of experience would contribute toward the successful fulfillment of the joint defense commitment and to the strengthening of the alliance of socialist states.

CEMA Meetings Held in Sofia, Prague, Budapest

Transport Cooperation Explored

AU1710192588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] The 80th regular session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in Transportation opened on 17 October in Sofia. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, spoke at the opening meeting and stressed that the session will adopt important decisions on restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and socioeconomic integration.

The session will clarify the work related to implementing the collective concept on the international division of labor and will coordinate the plans on developing transportation in CEMA member countries until 1995.

The session, which will continue until the end of the week, will also discuss issues related to multilateral cooperation in transportation with Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia.

Transport Session Ends

AU2010194988 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—From October 17 through 20, this year, the 80th session of the C.M.E.A.'s Permanent Commission for Cooperation in Transport was held here.

The commission viewed the draft of the programme for development and provision of transport communication for the period till the year 2005, as well as other questions of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation. Attention was paid to the measures for improvement of the relations between the CMEA member states in the organization of international passenger transport, especially the high speed passenger "interexpress" information system, as well as to the increase of transit transport's efficiency.

The session was attended by delegations of the CMEA member states and of Yugoslavia. A protocol on the work of the session was signed.

Mr. Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the ministers of transport and the leaders of the delegations which took part in the 80th session of the CMEA's Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Sphere of Transport.

Hungary's Urban Returns

LD2110102988 Budapest MTI in English
0001 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian delegation which attended the Sofia session of the CMEA permanent commission for cooperation in transport under the leadership of Mr Lajos Urban, minister of communication, returned to Hungary on Thursday. The session surveyed the work of the commission, and passed decisions on plans for developing transport up to the year 2005, and on new programmes.

The commission set as its tasks the setting up of an interexpress rail network, and the improvement of the safety of air and road transport. Mr Urban was elected acting president of the permanent commission for a one-year term. The commission is to hold its next session—its 81st—in Budapest next year.

The delegation heads met Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

Commerce, Industry Chairmen Meet

LD2110085888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] A consultative meeting of the chairmen of the Yugoslav CEMA states' chambers of commerce and industry ended today in Prague with the signing of a final protocol. Jaroslav Jakubec, heading the Czechoslovak delegation, stated that the participants agreed that in order to improve the activity of the chambers, it is vital to set up consultation centers to provide information necessary for foreign trade. Their views are in agreement on the setting up of a joint information system between the chambers to assist in the establishment of direct contacts and joint ventures.

Finance Conference Ends

LD2110170688 Budapest MTI in English
1658 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—The conference of the deputy ministers of finance of the CMEA member countries and Yugoslavia, chaired by Hungarian Deputy Minister of Finance Andras Patko, ended on Friday in Keszthely. Participants discussed the short term and long term tasks of transforming the CMEA currency and financial system, with particular attention given to methods used to determine the rates of exchange used in international accounting. Discussions were held on issues of further developing the international financial mechanisms, and the work scheme of the CMEA currency and Financial Standing Committee for the years 1989-1990.

Dascalescu Receives Communist Education Ministers

AU2010204188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1915 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received on October 20 the heads of the delegations participant in the 16th meeting of the higher learning ministers of socialist countries, that took place in Bucharest.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fine relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the participant countries and it was assessed that in the spirit of the summit understandings broad possibilities were at hand for the further development and diversification of the collaboration among them, on various planes, including the modernization of education. The importance of the Bucharest meeting was highlighted in that respect, that occasioned a wide and useful exchange of experience for the improvement of the higher learning institutions' activity in education and instruction, in scientific research, for enhancing its contribution to the attainment of the specific objectives of the complex program of technical-scientific cooperation of the CMEA member-countries by 2000.

In behalf of the meeting participants, Hans-Joachim Bohme, GDR minister of higher and technical education, warmly thanked for the conditions provided for the smooth run of the Bucharest meeting, for the hospitality extended to them during their stay in Romania.

The interview was attended by Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction.

UN Activities, Speakers Highlighted

SFRY Envoy on Disarmament

LD2110032888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2225 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] United Nations, October 20 (TANJUG)—Comprehensive and total disarmament, as a widely accepted goal, is unachievable without the engagement of all countries, the head of the Yugoslav mission to the U.N. Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, told the General Assembly's Political Committee.

Pejic put forward Yugoslavia's stand that the process of disarmament cannot be carried out without the participation of the best-armed countries, but that it should not stop there.

He said that the United Nations was the right place for all negotiations on the topic.

Pejic said that the 43rd General Assembly session was progressing in a positive atmosphere, and added that the open negotiations between the super powers contributed the most to this, primarily talks on disarmament and the elimination of a whole category of nuclear weapons.

Pejic said that concern was caused by the fact that the world's alarming economic problems were not within these favourable trends.

He pointed out that stability in the world was unattainable without resolving the question of development.

Pejic set out Yugoslavia's stand that a deep relationship exists between disarmament and development, the two key problems of the modern world.

CSSR Calls For Chemical Ban

LD2110103288 Prague CTK in English
0909 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] New York Oct 21 (CTK correspndent)—The need for a maximum reduction of the risk of military confrontation in the area where the two biggest military political groupings have a common border was stressed by Czechoslovak permanent representative in the U.N., Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky, in the Political and Security Committee of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

He said that Czechoslovakia, together with its allies, has proposed the withdrawal of the most dangerous weapons from the NATO-Warsaw Treaty borderline. This is also one of the most important measures forming the contents of the military political aspects of Czechoslovakia's comprehensive initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

The Czechoslovak representative said that the working out of an agreement on an all-round ban and destruction of chemical weapons at the Geneva conference on disarmament is in the fore-front of the international community's attention. He stated that Czechoslovakia, not possessing or producing chemical arms, is preparing further steps by which it wants to concretely help to shed light on the problems of control. He also spoke about the joint proposal of the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic addressed to the West German Government to create a chemical-free zone in Central Europe.

Evzen Zapotocky underlined the importance of a difficult and complex problem—environmental protection, stating that the arms race represents a great threat for the environment, as was stressed in a document adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty at its Warsaw session in July.

The questions of reducing the strength of armed forces and conventional armament in Europe also deserve exceptional attention, the Czechoslovak representative stated.

Romanian Speaks Against Racism

AU2110095488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0836 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Romanian Representative Addresses the UN General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations (AGERPRES) 21/10/1988—Thursday marked the start of the debate in the UN General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee on an item proposed by Romania concerning the responsibility of states not to admit in their territory, and not to instigate or support in the territory of other states chauvinistic, racist or other actions apt to develop hatred among peoples; the commitment of governments and the mass media to combat such actions and to educate the people, the young generation in the spirit of peaceful cooperation and international understanding; an evaluation of the implementation of the declaration on the promotion among youths of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding among people.

Opening the discussions on that major theme, the Romanian permanent representative at the UN showed Socialist Romania's constant concern with a world climate of peace and durable security, the deepening of collaboration among states in all areas, wherefore a decisive role is played by the firm action of all countries to educate the people, the young generations in the spirit of mutual respect and confidence, of cooperation in the struggle against all forms of hatemongering between nations. The speaker showed it was imperative to implement the relevant United Nations social and humanitarian programs which are the evidence of the governments' broad acknowledgement of their tasks of actively contributing to the attainment of the goals of those programs and to refrain from tolerating in their territory, and from instigating or supporting in the territory of other states chauvinistic, racist or other actions. Preventive measures ought to be taken to ban or stop the activity of the groups, organizations or individuals promoting such ideas and practices that are unfavourable both in the short and in the long range to dialogue between states, to understanding among people. We think it is time, Romania's representative said, that all states should take effective measures, especially in the fields of education, culture, and information, to combat racial discrimination, chauvinism and other actions that may cause discord among people and to redouble their efforts to promote understanding, mutual respect and friendship among nations.

It would be beneficial to all states, said the speaker, if the mass media fulfilled their mission with a sense of responsibility, combating racism, apartheid, chauvinism and other actions that bring discord among states, and in that way contributed to the elimination of misunderstandings among peoples, refraining from giving a stereotype, unilateral and tendentious image of various countries.

Socialist Education Ministers' Meeting Ends

AU2010195488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1905 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Meeting of Higher Learning Ministers of Socialist Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—The 16th meeting of higher learning ministers of socialist countries took place in Bucharest, over October 18-20. It was participated in by delegations from: People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Republic of Cuba, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, DPR of Korea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Romania, USSR, Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Attending as observers were also representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan, People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

A wide and useful exchange of information was made during the meeting on the development and modernization of higher learning in the'90s, the ways of improving the students' communist education, the participation of the higher learning establishments in the fulfilment of the tasks deriving from the complex program of technical-scientific cooperation of the CMEA member-countries by 2000.

The meeting participants highlighted the close interrelation between the training of highly skilled cadres and every country's socio-economic development. The outstanding importance was stressed of steadily raising the cultural-scientific level of the future graduates, of training them both as good experts and as people with a wide political and ideologic horizon, apt to actively participate in the accomplishment of the ideals of socialism and communism, in the implementation of the economic and social development programs of the communist and workers' parties in the respective countries.

The meeting pointed out that higher learning in the socialist countries availed of wide possibilities of cooperation in cadres' training, in scientific research and the building of a climate of understanding and friendship among peoples, of security and peace.

The participants' will was expressed during the meeting to further promote the exchange of views and experience that should contribute to better mutual acquaintance, to the further development of the relations of collaboration in higher learning.

Public Health Conference Opens 20 Oct

AU2010203888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1953 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—The Sixth National Congress of Hygiene, Labour Medicine and Social Medicine opened in Bucharest on 20 October.

Adding to the major themes of the congress on the relationship between health-building factors and health risks, and early cancer prophylaxis, are others that are priorities of prophylactic medicine: the hygiene of the environment, radiation hygiene, labour medicine, food hygiene, children and youth hygiene, social medicine.

The congress, held under WHO's motto "Health for All, All for Health" is attended by Romanian experts and by foreign guests—from Bulgaria, Poland, the GDR, the FRG and the USSR.

International Socialism Symposium Held

Yugoslav Speakers Featured

LD2210020488 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2353 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Cavtat, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—A "Critical Review of Marxism's Theoretical Heritage" and a "Democratic Project of Socialism" are the way of the crisis for all existing "models" of Socialism. This is the general opinion among the participants in this year's international symposium "Socialism in the World," which is being held for the 13th time in the Yugoslav resort of Cavtat near Dubrovnik.

The theme of this year's gathering is "Socialism and the Spiritual Situation of the Times," and the subject of today's debate was the "Historical Character, Essential Contents and Goals of Socialism."

Most of the participants are certain that "the aim of socialism is inviolable," as Ulies Moulines of Paris said, which means an equal right and possibility of realizing freedom, justice and dignity for all people while leaving open the question of "the best paths to the realization of this goal."

Boris Majer, long the ideologue and until recently a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed republic, provoked particular interest when he said that in his opinion a way out of the crisis socialism was in did not lie in a "pluralism of interests" within a one-party system, and even less in the introduction of a multi-party system, but soley in the setting up of a "non-party system of self-management socialist democracy."

On dogmas of the existing "models" of socialism, Majer said they were much more a product of different historical circumstances than of Marx's original concept of socialism and communism, adding that the socialism of the 21st century could not establish itself as a higher stage in the development of society if it did not determinedly rid itself of these dogmas.

Majer sees a model of a socialism of the future in the realization of three principles of freedom of the individual as a condition for the freedom of all: intellectual freedom (a free choice of a view of the world), economic freedom (a free choice of making a living) and political freedom (self-mangement involvement in public work in keeping with convictions, experience and knowledge).

League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency President Stipe Suvar spoke with the meeting's participants this evening on socialist practice and the social crisis in Yugoslavia, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the adoption of LCY's programme.

Suvar regards as the most important component of the LCY's programme the fact that socialist self-management is directed towards the supersedence of all that is obsolete, towards the preservation of positive experiences and towards the objective of elevating everything that is positive to a higher level.

On the subject of the essential difference between the LCY's programme and those of all other communist parties, Suvar said that the LCY's programme was the only document after the Communist Manifesto which interpreted history in a fully complex manner.

Suvar Calls for Reevaluation

LD2210170888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Cavtat, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The LCY Program deserves a historical re-evaluation, not a critique based on hindsight, states Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, this evening during talks with Yugoslav and foreign participants at a "Socialism in the World" roundtable which has been taking place for the past 2 days in Cavtat.

Following four regular sessions, an extraordinary session was held this evening for all participants. The topic for discussion was "socialism and the spiritual situation of our era." The participants asked Suvar numerous questions, but were most interested in his view of the Yugoslav sociopolitical and economic crisis in light of the LCY Program, which was adopted 3 decades ago.

Suvar believes the most important component of the LCY Program is socialist self-management, which is aimed at overcoming all that is obsolete, but preserving positive experiences in order to eventually upgrade all that is positive to a higher level. This is the essence of the attitude of socialist self-management toward the most valuable heritage of development so far, Suvar stressed.

Speaking about the essential difference between the LCY Program and the programs of all other communist parties in the world, Stipe Suvar said that the LCY Program is the only document after the Communist Manifesto which interprets history in an entirely complex way.

The LCY Program interprets history as the history of class struggle, which is also the first sentence of the manifesto. Furthermore, history is a sequence of epochs of economic formations throughout which methods of production replace each other. Finally, it is the preservation of progressive elements of previous civilizations. This is the strongest historical-materialistic and dialectical theoretical foundation for achieving socialist democracy. It is above the Enlightenment, idealism and dogmatic Marxism.

Suvar said that the general line of the LCY Program follows the position of "the national direction of changes within historical contradictions". However, it reflects the ideological approach which was directed by the system in power, and not the revolutionary aims of the movement.

This above all refers to understanding the world as a struggle between two systems and the development of socialism. This relates to the idea that historical laws are subordinated to socialism, and not socialism to specific economic formations in society. "In the LCY Program these two tendencies are opposed," Suvar said.

He added that in the LCY Program, and in the platform for preparing stances and decisions at the 10th party congress in 1973—which is in a way the continuation of the analysis from the Program itself—approaches our socialist society as a society which is not "homogenous or pure."

We are facing the task of finding a way toward the association of free producers by studying laws of this epoch, methods of production, and the stages of socialist self-management. In developing countries, the flow of events is reversed, Suvar said: Instead of "socialism being a condition for the revolution," as it is according to Marx, revolutions have become conditions for socialism, which has led to serious tests and deformations of socialism itself.

Abandoning the last ideological remnants of the theory of building socialism in one country, we are in the situation of reviving the socialist movement, Suvar said.

Looking at the latest assumptions about the way to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, he added that social relations which have become chains on the production forces are being abandoned. Within the framework of these assumptions, the liberation of science is the main component. All the more reason for us not to lose historical optimism, Suvar said.

SFRY's Macedonian Premier Continues Visit

Meets With Lukanov

AU2610151788 Sofia BTA in English
1440 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—Mr Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, who is on an official visit to this country at the invitation of the Council of Ministers, had talks today with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

The two sides exchanged information on the development of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and on the reforms under way in the two countries.

Noting the upgrade development of the Bulgaro-Yugoslavian relations, Mr Andrey Lukanov stood for even more active relations between the two countries and between Bulgaria and the separate Yugoslavian republics.

Mr Andrey Lukanov and Mr Gligorie Gogovski discussed the existing real possibilities for broadening of the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Concrete proposals for the further development of the bilateral contacts were made.

Some questions, which stand open to some extent, still unsettled, were also viewed, and opinion was expressed that they must not be an obstacle for the development of the bilateral relations. It was pointed out that the stress must be laid on what connects and unites the countries, on the commen interests. It is necessary to work together for the complete utilization of the existing favourable factors for widening of the cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest.

Received by Atanasov

AU2610212388 Sofia BTA in English
1843 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today Mr Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The development of Bulgaro-Yugoslavian relations was discussed in a constructive spirit and in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and their intensity over the last years was stressed, and it was said that the development of relations between Bulgaria and the individual Yugoslav republics, Macedonia included, is increasing.

It was indicated that the meetings and talks between the president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Bulgarian leaders can contribute to an ever more fruitful development of these relations in the frames of cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

The spheres where cooperation between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia can be expanded are metallurgy, chemistry, electronics, agriculture, construction and tourism. Modern types of economic contacts can be used: joint investments, the setting up of joint enterprises and companies.

Today Mr Gligorie Gogovski had talks with Mr Ognyan Doynov, president of the Heavy Engineering Association.

Changes Initiated at LCY Plenums Commended

AU2710103488 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 24 Oct 88 p 3

[Major Vladi Vladkov commentary: "SFRY: Toward Stabilization of Situation"]

[Text] Events in Yugoslavia during the last few months have evoked a pronounced interest among the world public. Certain unfavorable phenomena in the economic, political, and social spheres have intensified since the summer. Inflation has reached substantial dimensions, affecting purchasing ability—a fact that reveals the social stratification of the country. The federal republics have not developed at a steady pace, and this has caused the emergence of differences in the population's standard of living. Serious disputes have emerged between the leaderships of certain republics and the SFRY. All this has affected the LCY's internal life.

However, during the past week the Yugoslav Communists demonstrated their readiness to rise above the national internecines and search for the correct road leading out of the economic and political difficulties. The work of the recent LCY Central Committee plenums was proof of this fact. The awareness that all efforts must concentrate on stabilizing the economic and political situation in Yugoslavia prevailed at the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. The plenum implemented some personnel changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee. About one-third of the Central Committee membership will be renewed during the next 6 weeks, according to a proposal of the Presidium. The candidates will mostly come from the ranks of the workers engaged in material production, and the intelligensia. There will be several candidates for each area, and the election will take place through a secret vote. Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, explained that these are changes based on the possibilities afforded by the party charter.

The following 18th LCY Central Committee Plenum discussed certain topical issues related to the adoption of the proposed amendments of the SFRY Constitution. The plenum adopted a document on the tasks of the Communists in the process of amending the federal Constitution.

Naturally, the LCY forums solely will not suddenly produce changes. However, they mark the beginning of a significant political turning point and rally the firm forces of the party and society in the name of the Yugoslav people's unity and social equality.

Foreign Affairs Talks With USSR Held

AU2610201888 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—Consultations between the foreign ministries of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union were held in Sofia from 24 through 26 October.

A number of issues concerning the development of the positive trends in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world, as well as many other issues of mutual interest were considered at them.

Zhivkov Receives Prince Albert, Minister Urbain

AU2610201988 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received today Prince Albert, head of the visiting Belgian delegation and honorary president of the Belgian Foreign Trade Service, and Mr Robert Urbain, Belgian minister of external trade.

During the talks it was stressed that the processes of restructuring in this country and in the other socialist states are of great significance not only for the socialist community. They contribute to the formation of the new situation in the world and create preconditions for the avoiding of nuclear and ecological catastrophe and the further promotion of cooperation between the two sociopolitical systems in the name of a peaceful world.

The Belgian guests expressed their satisfaction with the meetings and talks they had in Bulgaria and noted the interest of the Belgian companies and banks in the development and deepening of cooperation between the two countries.

In this connection, a mutual wish was expressed to improve cooperation by the use of new forms like joint enterprises, consortiums and complex long-term business transactions for production and trade exchange.

Dwelling on the most topical international issues, the interlocuters were unanimous that the positive changes in the East-West relations bring to thawing of the political climate in the world. They stressed that the new trends towards improving the relations between the CMEA and the EEC make it possible, in the presence of initiatives between the governments and the business circles, for Bulgaro-Belgian relations to be raised to a qualitatively new level.

Mladenov, Tindemans Start Talks in Brussels

AU2610165088 Sofia BTA in English
2344 GMT 25 Oct 88

["Bulgaria, Belgium Promote Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Brussels, October 25 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Belgium today. At Brussels International Airport he was welcomed by Mr Leo Tindemans, Belgium's minister of external relations, by high-ranking functionaries of the Belgian Ministry of External Relations and by other officials.

Later in the day the two chief diplomats opened formal talks. Mr Petur Mladenov gave very good marks to bilateral relations which, as he emphasized, were not burdened by contentious issues.

The two countries are positively promoting their political contacts at the state and the government level and between the political parties, and there are no obstacles to their expansion.

Bulgaro-Belgian business ties are making progress, too. The commercial exchanges are fine but can be further expanded, using new forms of cooperation and consolidating its legal framework, Mr Mladenov pointed out.

He stressed the wide-ranging prospects opening up to Bulgaro-Belgian relations in science, the development of new technologies, banking, and Bulgarian economic experts' training in Belgium.

The Bulgarian foreign minister familiarized Mr Leo Tindemans with the progress in the negotiations between Bulgaria and the European Community on the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation, and he expressed the hope that Belgium will consider favourably Bulgaria's application to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Mr Leo Tindemans agreed with his guest's assessment of the state of relations between Bulgaria and Belgium.

He expressed the confidence that the current visit to Bulgaria by a large delegation of Belgian business executives will contribute substantially to the strengthening and promotion of the bilateral trade and economic ties.

"As far as our cooperation in business and in soft loans is concerned, you have in me an ardent supporter, because Bulgaria is a very reliable and an excellent partner," Mr Tindemans emphasized.

Mr Leo Tindemans expressed his satisfaction with the progressing Bulgaro-Belgian political dialogue at various levels. He said he was also pleased with the promotion of relations between Bulgaria and the EC and expressed his conviction that the admission of Bulgaria into GATT would be a very positive development.

The two ministers expressed the hope that the Vienna Follow-Up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will produce a balanced and meaningful final document. They discussed the relations between the CMEA and the EC and their recent progress and prospects.

Responding to the interest shown by his host, Mr Petur Mladenov familiarized him with details of the deep-going reforms in various fields in Bulgaria, with their ideas and goals.

For his part, Mr Leo Tindemans spoke about the plans to establish a single European market after 1992 and made it clear that this act would not turn the Common Market into a protectionist entity.

The talks were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. There was willingness on both sides to expand bilateral cooperation in various fields.

Following the completion of their session of talks, the two ministers signed an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation between Bulgaria and Belgium.

Atanasov Speaks at Consumers' Council Meeting

AU2410202488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1820 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] The constituent meeting of the Consumers' Council with the Fatherland Front National Council was held today. Nikifor Stoichkov, secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council and chairman of the Consumers' Council, dealt with the role and tasks of the consumers' councils. These councils are important organs in charge of protecting citizens' interests in their relations with the state and economic organs as well as with other organs and organizations, in connection with satisfying the consumers' needs and with the quality of public services, and are in charge of cooperating with commodity producers for the production of higher quality goods and services.

The state organs are obliged to examine the questions and proposals submitted to them by consumers, and to inform them about the decisions they have adopted.

The constituent meeting was addressed by Comrade Georgi Atanasov. He stressed that consumers' councils should be organized as important forums for the public evaluation of the state of the market, and as forums for discussing ideas, proposals, and opinions for the steady improvement of the market. Comrade Georgi Atanasov, basing himself on solid arguments, stressed the government policy on maintaining stable prices and on the establishment of a calm atmosphere on the market. He pointed out the recently adopted important decisions on the current supplies of goods, and pointed out that, along with this, decisions of strategic importance are being developed at Comrade Todor Zhivkov's initiative. He added that there are plans to increase the volume of capital investments in branches producing mass consumer goods, investments which are expected to attain 30 percent of the total volume of capital investments.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed out that, along with intensifying the efforts of commodity producers, there is a need to improve the domestic trade processes so that commodity funds may be promptly placed at the disposal of consumers.

Comrade Atanasov closed his remarks by pointing out that the necessary prerequisites exist for the solution of the current problems. The expected broad public cooperation of the consumers' councils now being established throughout the country will play an exceptionally useful role in this respect.

Decree on Outlying Population Centers Adopted

AU2610164888 Sofia BTA in English 2325 GMT 25 Oct 88

["For the Development of Borderland Villages"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—For the second time in the last 6 years, the Bulgarian Government has adopted special measures for the economic and social development of outlying population centres. This time the regulations apply specifically to the country's southern and eastern borderland regions. The idea is to reverse the downward tendency in population growth there and to make a more adequate use of the available land, forest, and pasture resources.

The government decree covers a total of 1,017 population centres in 54 municipalities with an overall population of 563,973. Annually, 470 million leva in budgetary allocations will be spent on the improvement of the working and living conditions in those parts of the country.

Since 1982, when the Council of Ministers issued a similar decree on the small villages which are becoming depopulated all over the country, the industrial output they generate has increased 95.2 percent. A total of 311 new industrial enterprises and workshops have been built, creating nearly 12,000 jobs. Under lucrative contracts, 31,000 people have moved in from other parts of the country, and 25,000 of them are under 35.

Still, a number of problems remain unsolved, especially as far as the borderland villages are concerned. The incentives that have been made available have proved insufficient to build the required facilities and infrastructure. The idea of the latest government decree on these matters, dated October 5, 1988, is to create conditions for a balanced development of the production capacities, to speed up the socioeconomic development of the villages and to raise the population's living standards so that they could soon reach the average level for the country.

Under the document, building plots for industrial construction within the population centre limits will be available at a fraction of the usual price. Half of the fixed-capital construction investments will be coming from the exchequer. One particularly important point is that production and economic activity in those parts of the country will be exempt from profit tax, from land tax, from fixed-assets tax and from current-assets tax, and up to 1998 from turnover tax as well. The farming work teams in those regions will not be assigned government contracts for the purchase of agricultural produce. Annual public outlays will be available for road construction and repairs. A special scheme for retail supply and a programme for welfare services has been endorsed.

The decree envisages measures to improve the living standards of the borderland population. Workers and employees belonging to all job grades will receive an average 1.4 percent supplement to their wages and salaries. People who have moved in from other parts of the country to work under contract will be exempt from income tax. People who undertake to work and live in the borderland municipalities for at least 15 years will benefit from considerable privileges.

Remedies to Problems of Villages Offered

AU2410142088 Sofia BTA in English
1208 GMT 24 Oct 88

["The Bulgarian Village Before Changes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—Compared to 1946 by the end of the 80's the village population reduced by some 2.2 million people, mainly as a result of migration in the towns. At present, the village population amounts to 34.5 p.c. of the country's total. From a typical agrarian country, Bulgaria turned into the most urbanized region of southeastern Europe. Since mid-sixties the village birth rate which by that time has always been greater that the city one, has reduced. For more than 10 years the natural growth in the village population is negative. The population in the villages ages more rapidly than in the towns. Forty-one p.c. of the economically active agrarian workers are over 50-years old. There is also a reverse migration which last year amounted to 13.5 p.c.

These demographic data was published by RABOTNICHESKO DELO as an illustration of the complexity of problems which the Bulgarian village is facing. Before the plenum of the CC of the BCP for agriculture, the press is publishing a number of proposals related to agricultural production. In many of them the piece work systems and competition are indicated as economic levers for the needed change.

Prof. Veska Zhivkova's article in RABOTNICHESKO DELO "Are the Village Social Projects a Hazardous Enterprise" tells of the need to develop social projects for the village self-management, for building of intellectual companies in the help of the village, for the cultural life in the village, for ecology, village and agrarian tourism and the new forms of management.

The author reminds that the notion Bulgarian village covers more than 5,000 villages, hamlets and huts whose population number from one person to a few thousand people, and each has its own specific problems. She thinks that it is extremely important not to predetermine the fate of individual villages by managerial solutions, not to encourage some of the villages and determine others as "villages with dying away functions". According to her it is necessary to use the traditions of village self-management.

The handling of the land, the establishment of the various types of its management must be decided upon by the General Assembly of the village, Prof. Zhivkova writes. She backs the idea of setting up of small enterprises in the village as she sees in this a way to keep the balance between the manpower unused in agriculture, the advance of agriculture itself and the preservation of the environment. Another principle, according to the author is the building of a mechanism for new settlement with permanent, temporary or seasonal inhabitants. She thinks that it is possible to stimulate the setting up of associations, based on the principle of free initiative, of highly qualified experts, living permanently or temporarily in the village, which are to help the resolution of the local problems.

The recent decree of the Council of Ministers for the development of the populated areas on the southern and western border concerns over 1,000 settlements with over half a million of population. Many of them have suffered greatly by migration. As KOOPERATIVNO SELO and OTECHESTVEN FRONT wrote today by this decree the efforts to preserve their vitality are continuing. A number of economic alleviations were planned for the enterprises in the border area, the regions are granted the right to choose which type of production they are to develop, the state is to cover half of the expenses for the new construction, remunerations of the inhabitants of these areas are to increase.

The press evaluation of the state decree is that the most hopeful way has been chosen: a combination of the interests of state, economic organizations and the individual persons.

Jakes Begins Visit to Central Slovak Region

Speaks on Restructuring

LD2510223088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today began his working visit to the central Slovak region. Editors Viliam Racek, Robert Nemcic, and Jan Smihula report on the 1st day of his stay. [passage omitted]

In discussing the topical tasks of restructuring the economic mechanism, Comrade Milos Jakes said that at the moment we are at the stage when restructuring has firm ideological, cadre, and legal bases. The process of speeding up progress, however, must be deepened not only in the center, but also directly at the workplace, Comrade Jakes stressed. He continued:

[Begin Jakes recording] What can we do then? We can organize norms in factories, we can train people, we have to introduce financial autonomy everywhere, down to the shop floor. No old system hinders this, but no new system can exist without it. Why do we not create conditions for restructuring to function? Why do we not lower material and energy requirements as anchored in the plan? Why do we not develop our products fast enough? Who is preventing innovation and the better valorization of raw and other materials? Who is stopping us from selling on world markets at the same prices as the developing countries [as heard]—we, an advanced and cultured state, one with a qualified working class and skillful engineers, assembly workers, and so on? Who is preventing us?

No one, not even the current regulations. It is simple laziness—and we must do away with this laziness. We are entering a competition—in fact, a competition with the world—and we must do well in the competition. There are a number of enterprises which are succeeding in this and a number of enterprises which are slightly apathetic, lacking in interest. What happened in the past was that everything which was produced was sold. Today, the situation is changing. Everyone feels justified in obtaining high-quality goods for his money and his raw materials; all our citizens require this. But then I, as the manufacturer, must behave in the way I demand as a citizen. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes stressed the significance of the national committees in the period of restructuring. He said that unnecessary administration will have to be done away with and attention focused on solving problems of citizens in a much more flexible way. At the same time, the standard and quantity of services must increase, and financial means for their activity must be created. He praised the work of the members of the town national committee in Banska Bystrica, and pointed to the fact that one must not forget about educating the younger generation, which must realize that it comes from a historical and revolutionary region where our freedom was born.

In conclusion, the chairman of the town national committee presented Milos Jakes with a symbolic key to the gate of the town hall.

In the afternoon, Comrade Milos Jakes visited a computer technology enterprise at Banska Bystrica. [passage omitted] First he visited the machine tool hall and displayed interest in the production program and the results achieved, as well as in the successes and difficulties with which the labor collective of the enterprise is struggling. [passage omitted]

After viewing the production lines Comrade Milos Jakes met with the management of the enterprise, with representatives of the brigades of socialist labor, as well as with high-ranking employees of the computer technology enterprise at Banska Bystrica.

In the evening Comrade Jakes left for Martin.

Tours Martin Engineering Plant

LD2610130188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, began the 2d day of his working visit in the central Slovakia region with a visit to the heavy engineering enterprise in Martin. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes displayed interest in the preparation of the enterprise to change to the new economic mechanism. Accompanied by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, he toured an exhibition of the most important products of the combine and some workshops.

Gives Speech on State Anniversaries

LD2610210388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 26 Oct 88

["Text" of speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the independent Czechoslovak Republic and the 20th anniversary of the law on the Czechoslovak federation, in Martin on 26 October—recorded]

[Text] We are meeting at an exceptionally important period in the life of our country, a period when we are putting into effect profound revolutionary changes throughout society, and when international relations, too, are developing dynamically. Our rally is taking place on the eve of the 70th anniversary of a historic watershed in the life of our peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks: the founding of the independent Czechoslovak Republic. It is no coincidence that it was here in Martin that the Slovak people, with the historic declaration of 30 October 1918, joined in a common life together with the fraternal Czech people in a unified independent state.

Indeed, even long before that Martin was a significant center of Slovak national life, culture, and education, and of the development of feelings of brotherhood and ties between the Czechs and Slovaks. It was here, just as it was in Prague on 28 October 1918, that the idea of Czechoslovak mutuality was elevated into the principle of Czechoslovak statehood. The founding of the free republic by the will of both our peoples, for whom Czechoslovakia became—in the words of Klement Gottwald—the only natural and possible basis for their life as a state, is the result of long struggles for national and social liberation by the working people in the Czech lands and in Slovakia, and primarily by the working class, which, influenced by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, stood up to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy for the assertion of the right to people's self-determination and for Czechoslovak statehood, and also that of the spontaneous revolutionary uprising of the people on 14 October 1918 in Prague and elsewhere. In Slovakia we especially remember in this context the May Day rally in Liptovsky Mikulas.

On 28 October 1918, after centuries of oppression and subjugation, the aspirations of Czech and Slovak patriots for national and state independence were fulfilled. New development possibilities opened up for the Czech and Slovak nations. However, the hopes associated by the working people with the founding of the Republic did not fully materialize. Despite the undoubted progress and more democratic character of Czechoslovakia in comparison with other neighboring states, the capitalist social order was not capable of resolving the fundamental social rights of the working people and a just arrangement of relations between our peoples; nor, as it later transpired, was it able to ensure the Republic's external security.

From its birth the CPCZ stood in the vanguard of the struggle for a socially and nationally just Czechoslovakia. The Communists stood up as the most consistent defenders of Czechoslovak statehood before the threatening fascist and war danger. The heinous Munich agreement, as a result of the treason of the Western alliance, the local great bourgeoisie, the destruction of Czechoslovakia, and the tremendous sacrifices which had to be made for the renewal of national freedom, confirmed our people's decision not to allow a return to pre-Munich conditions and to build a republic which would truly belong to the working people.

Just as the Czech people never came to terms with fascist occupation, the Slovak people never came to terms with the clerical fascist state. The famous Slovak national uprising wrote a new chapter in the history of Slovakia. It fully endorsed the renewal of the joint state—the Czechoslovak Republic. Following the liberation of our homeland by the heroic Soviet Army in May 1945, a new Czechoslovak state, a people's democracy, was born, which in its foreign policy leaned on its most faithful ally—the USSR.

This is how it was enshrined in the Kostice government program. Friendship and cooperation with the USSR and with the countries of the socialist community is a firm constant point of our policy and a guarantee of our independence and sovereignty. [applause] The path toward profound socialist transformations was opened to the working people in February 1948. The departure from the bourgeois system and the building of socialism in our country were an expression of the people's free will.

During the celebrations of its 40th anniversary we took stock of the results of socialist construction. They demonstrate that our society, despite its mistakes and shortcomings, made great progress in all spheres—the economy, the development of science, education, and culture, and the growth in living standards. Slovakia achieved unprecedented growth. Its lagging behind the Czech lands represented 40 to 50 years in the period of the bourgeois republic. During the building of socialism Slovakia caught up economically with the other parts of the Republic. National per capita income increased sevenfold in the past 40 years in the Slovak SR. The dynamic socially economic development of Slovakia is a result of dedicated work by broad strata of the working people, workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia in Slovakia. The assistance of the Czech working classes and intelligentsia significantly contributed to this.

The basis of the results achieved is the nationalities policy of the CPCZ and our socialist state. It achieved full expression also in the federative arrangement of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 20 years ago. Unity, equality, and fraternal cooperation of our peoples and nationalities is a revolutionary advantage which we must protect, strengthen, and develop. [applause]

It represents, also for the future, a guarantee of the successful development of our socialist state. It is particularly significant at the present stage of fulfilling the strategic guideline of the 17th party congress aimed at speeding up the social and economic development of our country. On the basis of our needs, inspired by the example of the CPSU, we have set out on a path of economic and social restructuring. These tasks were set out by the 5th session and were developed and worked out at the 8th, the 9th, and now the 10th sessions of the party Central Committee.

Taught by the past, we link up with all the positive things that represent a way out for the future. At the same time we strive to overcome all that is obsolete and fossilized, all that hinders our progress. One has to speed up the entire process of restructuring so that the development of our society can acquire new dynamism, so that the advantages and possibilities of socialism can be demonstrated, so that people can live and work better, so that their living standards can improve.

It is all this which forms the basis of increasing the share of our country in strengthening the positions of socialism in the struggle for international peace and progress. The tasks that we are facing can be tackled only with the active participation of the overwhelming majority of the people. That is why we lay such great stress on implementing an open policy, a policy of public information and of deepening socialist democracy. Its development, and one has to stress this in particular, is inseparably connected with strengthening respect for the laws of the socialist state and the consistent adherence to them by all without exception. Our policy is oriented towards all those who actively and constructively desire to contribute toward the development of our society, our homeland. It is focused on the possibility of working people and all citizens taking a broad part in managing and administering their towns, vilages, enterprises, and the entire state.

The steps which we are taking within the framework of restructuring the economic mechanism are aimed at this. The adopted bills on state enterprises and cooperatives link the working people more immediately with the means of production. They create fundamental prerequisites for the people to be able to feel and act as true masters. They are based, first of all, on broadening independence and responsibility of enterprises, on financial autonomy, and socialist self-administration, including the election of directors. We have also set out along the path of the all-around activation of organizations and organs of the National Front. We have adopted important decisions to enhance the role, in particular, of the basic levels of the national committees so that they might be able, independently, with the participation of citizens, fully to make decisions about the development of towns and villages. We are striving to base their self-administrative position on economic independence.

The main condition for better satisfying the people's needs is a good economic performance. Overall it can be said that we are managing to meet the quantative indicators of our plans and goals. However, economic efficiency and the fulfillment of qualitative indicators of economic development are inadequate. Unfortunately, we are still manufacturing at high cost, not always with the necessary quality, we are slow to update our products and technology, and our use of science and technology is weak. This has meant that we do not have as many resources to distribute as we had expected.

Speeding up socioeconomic development means that, in conjunction with the gradual application of the principles of economic reform, we must responsibly ensure fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan and of the entire Eighth 5-Year Plan. I am glad that I have encountered full understanding in this respect in the enterprises I have visited. We must place particular emphasis on increasing labor productivity, reducing costs, and markedly raising the technical level and quality of our manufacured goods. In this context, however, it is not merely a question of having new technology—we also need managers of the right caliber who are capable of making proper use of labor collectives and who know how to lead them and develop their initiative in the necessary direction. We must pay attention everywhere to the sound management of resources, order, and discipline, because without these there cannot be any high-quality work. We must attend to improving the situation on the domestic market, with which we are dissatisfied, and in respect to services. In this area there are a number of shortcomings, but apprehensions about the stability of our currency are totally misplaced. Many problems are quite superfluous—they arise out of poor work both by the management bodies and by the production and distribution sectors. Their solution is primarily a matter for managers, but the involvement of all the working people is irreplaceable, too, as is monitoring on their part. That is why the development of the people's activity and initiative is so important, as was also stressed at the recent national trade union conference. In addition, the involvement of the national economy in the international division of labor, particularly with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, but also with the capitalist states, needs to progress more decisively, because it is also on this that the faster implementation of vital structural changes in our economy depends to a large extent.

The recent 44th CEMA session in Prague created important conditions for deepening socialist economic integration, cooperation, and specialization. In socioeconomic development we must bear in mind the interests of the entire society and the whole state. This means we must make more efficient use of the economic potential of both our republics, and further increase the contribution made by the Slovak SR to the development of the unified Czechoslovak economy. At the same time, we cannot acknowledge the vital necessity of the process of economic integration without applying it consistently in our own country.

We can only achieve the desired results with honest and high-quality work, the responsible fulfillment of tasks, and a positive attitude at all workplaces. This is connected with the resolute struggle against indifference, mediocrity, and anonymity, which have become widely entrenched, and also against the reliance on excuses. We must, therefore, eliminate all the causes and examples of a bureaucratic approach toward the fulfillment of tasks and toward people, for this is a burden on socialism, which limits the initiative and activity of the people and causes their alienation from the state power and from governing society.

We must also eliminate the distorted ideas about socialism, which are expressed, in particular, in profoundly entrenched egalitarianism, and we must correctly assess our realistic possibilities. One of the main prerequisites and aims of restructuring is to force through everywhere social justice, based on remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work performed and its contribution to society. This must concern both individuals and the entire labor collectives. The implementation of economic and social restructuring depends on changes in our thinking and behavior. That is why it is so important to be well acquainted with the meaning and paths of restructuring, to deeply understand their inevitability and irreversibility.

The preparation of both new and current cadres, ones capable of being managers in the new conditions, is of exceptional significance. These questions were discussed also at the recent 10th session of the party Central Committee. It also had strong words to say about the fulfillment of current tasks. At the same time, it approved political, cadre, and organizational measures which were well received by the overwhelming majority of our citizens. Their aim is for the tasks connected with speeding up social and economic development, restructuring, and democratization to be consistently safeguarded in practice. The condition for achieving our aims is strengthening peace in the world. That is why we fully support the peace policy of the USSR and, together with the other countries of the socialist community, why we are taking an active part in their implementation.

Esteemed citizens, comrades, in confronting the new tasks we are building on all the progressive traditions and experiences which were accumulated by our peoples along the joint 70-year path. This has demonstrated that the Czechoslovak state has fully proved itself as the joint home of the Czech and the Slovaks as well as the other nationalities. It has achieved true progress in the period of socialist construction. That is why we will devote all our energies for our homeland to further flourish, so that the fraternal unity of our peoples and nationalities can be strengthened, so that friendship and the alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries can develop in the interest of our people, socialism, and peace. [applause]

I wish the citizens of Martin District and the entire Slovak SR every success at work and in their private lives, and good health. May our common homeland flourish. Long live the CSSR! [applause]

Czech National Front To Meet 3 Nov

LD2610165888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] On the basis of letters, comments, and statements that have been received, the National Front Central Committee Presidium of the Czech SR today at a meeting rejected the attempts by socialism's overt and covert enemies, who are trying to provoke instability, unrest, and dissatisfaction among the public in the current development of socialist society. In the interests of all honorable people, and the bodies and organizations affiliated to the National Front, it supports these declarations and statements with the aim of concentrating all efforts on the prosperity and happy future of our socialist homeland.

The Presidium then discussed preparations for the Czech National Front Central Committee plenary session on 3 November, which will discuss ways to activate the National Front's bodies and organizations.

Kohl Remarks on 'Unnatural' Split of Germany Viewed

LD2710103488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0254 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" publishes a commentary today entitled "Kohl and the Unnatural" by Karl Eduard von Schnitzler. The text of the commentary follows:

"The dinner may have been extraordinarily good. However the federal chancellor did not find it very palatable. For he stated in his dinner speech that he was suffering from something unnatural. The cause of his regrettable indisposition: The division of Germany is 'unnatural,' that is, the situation resulting from World War II and postwar developments.

"Now Herr Kohl, who likes to present himself as 'Adenauer's grandson,' should have known that Konrad Adenauer was the forefather of the division. He divided Germany economically through separate currency reform. He founded the Federal Republic in a separatist manner. And he took this separate state into NATO. He wanted this and did it. Of course, because he was clever he knew this exactly: This is division. This leads to two German states.

"The 'grandson' surely does not mean that his 'grandfather' labored for and implemented something 'unnatural.' Through currency reform, founding the FRG and joining NATO, Konrad Adenauer laid the foundation stone for the division, for two German states. This was based on an understanding—from his point of view—and 'natural' consideration, which he formulated as: 'Better half a Germany whole than a whole Germany halved.'

"It is astonishing that Helmut Kohl is declaring this policy of his chosen 'grandfather' to be 'unnatural.' It is also astonishing that he has forgotten what he signed: 'There was agreement on maintaining and extending what has been achieved while respective of the basic principle that both German states respect the autonomy and independence of each state in its internal and external affairs.' This is in the Joint Communique which the federal chancellor and our Council of State chairman signed during Erich Honecker's visit to the Federal capital, Bonn.

"'Maintaining and extending what has been achieved' is the existence of two sovereign German states and their normal, as good as possible, neighborly relations. Both states and West Berlin, with its particular status, grew out of the ruins of the Bismarkian 'Reich,' have differing, irreconcilable social and economic systems, and belong to opposing military coalitions. In the nuclear age, which knows no victors and vanquished and which prohibits war through the punishment of humanity's demise, mutual respect for autonomy and independence are only natural.

"Looking for something 'unnatural' in this, seeing something 'unnatural' in it - it seems to me that this results from unreasonableness and a lack of understanding of history's course and of the imperatives of the nuclear era.

"The politics of reason are not unnatural but vitally important. Respect for the sovereignty and independence of others corresponds to the Helsinki Final Act and humanity's will to live.

"It would be good if the chancellor could rectify his 'unnaturalness' quickly and accept natural reason: This would be good for him, good for Federal and GDR citizens, good for the Europeans, in short—good for peace, good for normalization and for good neighborliness in the Common European Home."

Honecker Receives DKP Leader Mies

LD2110205088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP, and other members of the Presidium of the DKP Executive.

During the conversation, which took place in the spirit of traditional fraternal solidarity between the SED and the DKP, Erich Honecker and Herbert Mies, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the reconstitution of the DKP, paid tribute to the time since then as a successful stage of development in the struggle of the FRG communists for peace, work, and democracy. In the discussions about the recognition of realities in Europe, and in particular of the GDR as a sovereign German state with equal rights, as well as the political and social rights of the working people, the DKP has always proved to be faithful to the heritage and tradition of the revolutionary German workers' movement, as a national force.

During the meeting, Erich Honecker outlined the great efforts of the SED and of the GDR workers for the fulfillment of the 11th SED congress decisions, for the well-being of all citizens and in the interests of securing peace.

Since the last meeting on 21 December 1987, Erich Honecker said, a change for the better has been discernible in the international situation, although it continues to be complex. The path toward new and far-reaching disarmament steps has been opened with the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States. Together with its allies, the GDR continues unshakeably to be guided by the idea of a world without nuclear weapons, wars, or force. This is why the GDR also opposes all attempts by the West to "compensate" for the nuclear weapons to be eliminated in accordance with the INF treaty. A new round of the arms race cannot be permitted; rather, the objective is to prevent any hiatus in the disarmament process by means of further agreements and accords, and to reach new zero solutions.

In this connection, Erich Honecker explained the proposals of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee of last July. He pointed out the meaning in principle of concluding an agreement on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, with strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the total ending of nuclear arms tests, the worldwide ban on chemical weapons, and the decisive reduction of conventional troops and armaments in Europe. In this way, a new breakthrough can be achieved in disarmament, and an important contribution can be made to the stable foundations for the joint "European home."

Touching on relations with the FRG, Erich Honecker again stated the GDR's readiness for further development of cooperation. By means of his official visit to the FRG in September 1987, a new stage has been initiated in relations between the two German states. This has signalled the fact that a reasonable relationship between the FRG and the GDR would be important and stabilizing for the situation in Europe and in the world. Without a doubt, the joint communique was a remarkable document of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The GDR, Erich Honecker continued, will, as in the past, continue to pursue a policy of securing peace, dialogue, and cooperation with the FRG. Anyone can see for himself that since last fall considerable progress has been made in the spheres of politics, economics, science, environmental protection, cultural exchange, travel, and transit traffic. The benefits of the policy of peaceful coexistence for human beings are thus made evident. This is why it must be emphatically stressed that the possibilities offered should not be placed under pressure by demands which are irreconcilable with the agreements concluded. Experience has shown that mutual respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference and the respecting of bilateral interests has proved to be the most important prerequisites for normal relations between the GDR and the FRG. Relations between the two sovereign states must be characterized by the generally recognized norms of international law.

Erich Honecker gave detailed information about domestic policy which is shaped by the decisions of the 11th party congress. The continual and dynamic development of the economy, science, education, and culture can mainly be traced back to the fact that for years, work has gone on in accordance with a comprehensive concept for the development of all of society up to the year 2000, at the center of which is the unity of economic and social policy. This course has stood the test, and brought positive dividends for society and for each individual citizen. In this way, the GDR has at its disposal a realistic concept of society for the present and the future. The SED will tolerate no dogmatism in pursuit of its aims. Life constantly poses new challenges, resulting from external and internal developments. Above all, it has been proved again and again that—as has already been formulated in the SED's program—the development of an advanced socialist society is a process of thorough political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. In order to master this process, the SED is called on to provide capability, resolve, and courage. In the GDR, for the first time in German history, it has been proved that the revolutionary party of the working class is in a position to lead a modern socialist state.

The well being of the people is always the decisive factory for the SED's policy, Erich Honecker said. This will remain the case and without the slightest deviation. A high level of productivity in the national economy is decisive for the realization of these demanding tasks. This is why the GDR tries to master high technologies. This also requires the constant perfection of socialist democracy. Scientific-technological progress can only be achieved in socialist society by means of an ever more comprehensive process of democratic participation in decision-making, and the participation of workers in the enterprise and in society. This is why the slogan "Work together, plan together, govern together", which was set out in the early days of socialist development in the GDR, is constantly becoming more important.

DKP Chairman Herbert Mies reported on his party's activity in preparation for its ninth party congress. He stressed total agreement with the assessment made on the international situation, and the tasks for continuing the course toward disarmament and peace. In fact, the objective now is to follow on from the success of the medium-range treaty—for which both the GDR and the FRG have made an essential contribution—and to develop activities in order that no hiatus will occur in the process of disarmament. The real opportunity for making the Federal Republic, with its high level of armament, into a dependable factor in relations of coexistence must taken. This is a cardinal task of the Federal Republic's peace forces, of which the DKP regards itself as an active part.

In contrast to this, however, is the insistence of influential political circles in the FRG on the realization of an enormous program of large-scale armament, under cover of modernization. The DKP will not cease in its efforts, by means of campaigns and persuasion, to implement further disarmament steps and independant contributions by the Federal Government, step by step. New impetus for this constantly emanates from the peace initiatives of the socialist community. The will of the overwhelming majority of the FRG's population must finally be respected in Bonn: They no longer believe in a threat from the East, and demand an active policy of disarmament. More and more people realize that as a result of the arms race, their own social interests are being left behind.

Herbert Mies lauded the SED's consistent and successful work for peace and disarmament, and for dialogue and cooperation between all forces of reason and realism. He shares the view that the joint communique on Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG is proving to be a significant document in life. This is why the DKP will continue to support the Federal Government's strict realization of the agreements made, disarmament, detente, and peaceful cooperation. In this connection he stressed the increased responsibility of the workers' movement, in order that war might never again emanate from German soil. The positive results in relations between the SED and the SPD—the joint document "The Dispute of Ideologies and Joint Security", the initiatives for a nuclear weapons-free corridor and for a chemical weapons-free zone, as well as the proposal for a "zone of trust and security in Central Europe"—are important for the entire continent, have emphatically influenced the political climate in the FRG, and have perceptibly promoted cooperation between communists and social democrats.

Touching on the current situation of working people in the FRG, Herbert Mies said that the DKP, together with the trade unions, is conducting a decisive struggle against mass unemployment, social cutbacks, and new poverty, which, in view of the antisocial development of scientific-technological progress in capitalism, is taking on increasing importance. The DKP agrees with those parties and organizations in the FRG which support rejection of the government of the rich in the 1990 elections. Herbert Mies stressed that these struggles are an immediate part of preparations for the Ninth DKP Congress, the final stage of which is beginning with the forthcoming area delegate conferences in November this year. The DKP, Herbert Mies continued, is currently constructing a political platform for itself with the document "FRG 2000", in which it provides fundamental answers about how the FRG can become a country of peace, work, humanism, and social progress.

The party has a chance to conduct a broad public dialogue and, together with democratic and progressive forces, to repulse the most reactionary forces of imperialism blow by blow. By means of this program, and by unanimous and united action by all communists for its implementation, the DKP is proving to be an indispensable revolutionary force of the working class, under the conditions of the FRG.

Taking part in the conversation, for the SED side were: members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Egon Krenz, and Guenter Schabowski; Guenter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and director of a Central Committee department; and Hans-Georg Schuster, deputy director of a Central Committee department.

Present for the DKP were Deputy Party Chairman Ellen Weber; and members of the Presidium of the DKP Executive Jupp Angenfort, Kurt Bachmann, Heinz Czymek, Willi Gerns, Dieter Keller, Karl Heinz Schroeder, and Werner Stuermann.

Heusinger Visits Vienna at Counterpart Invitation

Received by Waldheim

AU2410144088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of justice, was received by Dr Kurt Waldheim, president of the Republic of Austria, in Vienna on Wednesday [19 October]. The GDR politician is paying an official visit to Austria at the invitation of Austrian Justice Minister Dr Egmont Foregger. In the talk, President Dr Waldheim paid tribute to the GDR's active contribution to implementing disarmament and detente in Europe and to the close and useful relations between the two states in all fields of social life. Austria and the GDR concur with each other in the effort to further advance the process of understanding in Europe. Both interlocutors expressed their satisfaction with the further extension of the exchange of experiences in the field of justice and its administration. Justice Minister Egmont Foregger and GDR Ambassador Klaus Wolf participated in the meeting.

The GDR politician was received by Austrian Nationalrat President Leopold Gratz in the parliament building for a friendly talk on Wednesday afternoon.

In a talk at the Austrian Justice Ministry, Minister Heusinger and Minister Foregger discussed experiences in legislative questions and the tasks and structure of the justice ministries of the two countries. In a lecture for members of justice authorities, Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger explained the tasks and working methods of the GDR judicial system.

Minister Reviews Talks

AU2410110288 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 22 Oct 88 p 3

[Johannes H. Schloegl report: "Good Climate of Talks in Vienna"]

[Text] This week Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of justice, paid an official visit to Austria as the guest of Justice Minister Egmont Foregger. During his stay he also met with President Kurt Waldheim and Nationalrat President Leopold Gratz.

In a talk with WIENER ZEITUNG Heusinger stated that the good contacts between Austria and the GDR are also cultivated at the level of the justice ministers in the form of an exchange of views on the prospects of legislation.

He said that in a working talk Minister Foregger briefed him on the Austrian legislative projects. "A very demanding program," Heusinger stressed. The GDR's plans for legislation were also discussed. Both sides emphasized the need for laws that are close to the citizens, readable, and easily applicable.

Heusinger expressed pleasure about the "cordial and friendly" atmosphere of the talks and announced that he had invited the Austrian justice minister for a visit to the GDR "in order to continue the constructive talks." Bilateral contacts at expert level are also conceivable and desirable, Heusinger said.

Heusinger noted that the promotion of sociopolitical development through laws and the explanation of legal problems in a way that is easily understood by the citizens are important tasks of the GDR judiciary. It is intended to prevent conflicts by means of legal counseling and information.

With regard to media coverage of trials, the minister expressed the view that this should focus less on sensations than on making clear the reasons for crimes.

The crime rate in the GDR, in particular juvenile delinquency, is steadily decreasing.

Said Heusinger: "There is no socially relevant drug scene in our country."

About 50 percent of the crimes are property offenses, the GDR justice minister said, and stressed, among other things, that the death penalty was abolished in the GDR in 1987.

Heusinger does not think that it is necessary to reduce sentences for political criminal offenses existing in the GDR, such as escape from the GDR.

As focal points for judicial work in the GDR in the near future the minister cited, among other things, the harmonization of administrative procedures and the establishment of the greatest possible stability of the law for the citizens.

Concludes Visit to Austria

AU2510185788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—After a through exchange of views with Austrian Justice Minister Egmont Foregegger, Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of justice, concluded his official visit to the Republic of Austria on Friday [21 October]. During his stay, the GDR politician also met with Walter Meinitzky, president of the Austrian Supreme Court, Prosecutor General Otto F. Mueller, and other leading jurists.

SDI After Abrahamson's Resignation Discussed

AU2510153588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Oct 88 p 2

["-ng" commentary: "The SDI Boss Leaves—So What?"]

[Text] James A. Abrahamson, head of the SDI space armament program, has announced his resignation. The Air Force lieutenant general intends to leave on 31 January 1989. However, there is no reason for speculations that the entire project might vanish along with the man at the helm. Quite the contrary.

Recently the U.S. Congress approved the 1989 military budget with $300 billion. A new version of this specific budget was necessary because the President had vetoed the old one in August. This blocked the intention of the parliamentarians to cut back financial means for SDI. The current, revised Pentagon budget includes $4.1 billion for the continuation of the space armament program.

The lack of a date for the conclusion of the treaty on halving the strategic nuclear potentials of the USSR and the United States is also related to SDI. Since 12 July, when the representatives of the two superpowers started their current round of negotiations in Geneva, there has been certain progress on specific issues. However, nothing has been achieved with regard to an agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty in its form of 1972. As is known, this agreement prohibits the development, testing, and deployment of space-based antimissile systems. Instead of again expressing support for this obligation, which has been accepted by both sides, and freeing the way toward the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, which is expected by the whole world, Washington has been stalling.

As if this were not enough, the United States has accused the Soviet Union of violating the ABM Treaty. The excuse used for this was a radar station near Krasnoyarsk, which is under construction and will serve to monitor satellite. The USSR reacted with the offer to turn the disputed object into a center of peaceful cooperation for the peaceful use of space. The U.S. response to this offer was negative.

In light of all these events, so far there are no grounds for the assumption that SDI itself will be given up when its boss leaves. This is corroborated by the fact that the Pentagon has already appointed a successor.

Gerd Schulz Meets With USSR Youth Official

AU2010175188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [18 October], Gerd Schulz, member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Youth Committee, met with Igor Nikitin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lenin

Komsomol and chairman of the "V. I. Lenin" Pioneer Organization, for a friendly exchange of opinions in East Berlin. Gerd Schulz briefed his Soviet guest on the purposeful implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress concerning youth policy. He stressed that, with the "FDJ pledge—GDR 40," young people have worked actively and responsibly for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Both partners in the talk noted that the recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow has provided many incentives for further strengthening fraternal friendship and the trustful cooperation between the FDJ and the Lenin Komsomol, as well as between their respective pioneer organizations.

SED's Krenz Receives Syrian Party Official

LD2010181288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The committed and joint efforts of all forces of reason and good will are necessary in order to further shape the positive trend toward improvement of the global political situation. Dr Sulayman Qaddah, assistant regional secretary general of the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, and Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, emphasized this during talks in Berlin today. They agreed that the improved situation will at the same time create favorable conditions for solutions to regional conflicts, including those in the Near East and Middle East.

Egon Krenz and Dr Sulayman Qaddah, who is heading a delegation from the Syrian Ba'th Party, paid tribute to the developed state of relations between the two parties. They are the basis for the good bilateral cooperation between the GDR and Syria. The parties stressed their determination to extend their close contacts further in the interest of securing peace and social progress.

Egon Krenz briefed the Syrian guest on the GDR's domestic and foreign policies. He emphasized that the political stability of the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil is a basic element of European peace for which the GDR is working contructively.

Honecker Meets With Syrian Party Official

LD2410160588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker and Dr Sulayman Qaddah, assistant regional secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Syria, have called for new concrete steps for reducing confrontation as well as armed forces and armaments in order to reveal more of the positive trends in the amelioration of the international situation and make it irreversible. The SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman received the Syrian politician in Berlin on Monday [24 October] for a friendly talk.

Erich Honecker affirmed that the GDR would continue to advocate halving the number of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States while strictly adhering to the ABM treaty and the ban on nuclear weapon tests and chemical weapons, as serious steps for conventional disarmament. The GDR supports all initiatives and activities in this direction.

Erich Honecker explained to the guest in detail the GDR's active contribution toward safeguarding peace. He emphasized the GDR's strong conviction that the intensive political dialogue with all forces of reason and realism represented the only feasible way to prevent a nuclear inferno, to safeguard peace and to create a climate of security and confidence between the states and peoples.

Dr Sulayman Qaddah expressed Syria's great appreciation of the GDR's uncompromising work for peace and international understanding. He explained in detail the developments in the Near and Middle East. He emphasized the need for a comprehensive, lasting, and just solution to the Middle East conflict on the basis of the complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the safeguarding of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people including its right to the return, self-determination, and formation of its own independent state.

Erich Honecker expressed the GDR's deep concern about the continuing dangerous situation in the Middle East. He referred to the need for speedy constructive steps for unblocking the situation and bringing about a peaceful political solution to the conflict.

Both sides agreed that the convening of an international peace conference under UN auspices with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO and the permanent members of the UN Security Council, represented the suitable way for this.

The interlocutors noted with satisfaction that the longstanding and friendly relations between the two states, parties, and peoples were developing strongly in the interest of the joint struggle for peace and progress. They emphasized the interest of their states in the further consolidation and deepening of the mutually beneficial cooperation between the GDR and the SAR [Syrian Arab Republic].

DPRK Condemns Budapest Ties With ROK

LD2610193688 Budapest MTI in English
1821 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Pyongyang, October 26 (MTI)—In his Wednesday statement the spokesman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea criticized the building of relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Korea, as it is handling South Korea as an independent state. According to the statement an 'abnormal situation' has developed between Budapest and the DPRK. It calls on Hungary to 'settle the situation without delay' and considers Hungary responsible for the consequences of the deepening of South Korean-Hungarian relations.

Gyula Horn Returns From UN Assembly Session

LD2110170488 Budapest MTI in English
1657 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, returned to Budapest from New York on Friday [21 October]. Gyula Horn attended the 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly as head of the Hungarian delegation.

Horn Discusses Multiparty System, Troop Cuts

LD2610181788 Budapest MTI in English
1610 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI)—Delegates to the 58th Congress of the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA) visited the countryside on Wednesday.

As reported, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Gyula Horn held a press conference for journalists accredited to the international event. State Secretary of Trade Miklos Andriko also met with journalists.

At the press conference held in parliament building, Mr Horn stressed that Hungary is currently undergoing a change which affects all areas of political life. There is general agreement in Hungary that we wish to realize democratic socialism. The fact that the road is unknown, and the methods are, for the time being, not mature, brings debates. Hungary wishes to come abreast of the developed European democracies, and the preparation of a new constitution, and the recent approval of the law on business associations serve this end.

In answer to a question about the multi-party system, Mr Horn noted that one of the most important tasks in Hungary is to create a democratic pluralist system which ensures that the various political views and opinions that are not hostile towards socialism be expressed. One cannot at present unanimously formulate whether the one-party system will continue to exist in a future democratic socialism. The creation of a multi-party system is not on the agenda in Hungary today, he said.

Mr Horn detailed the factors that determine the Hungarian foreign political way of thinking. In this context he mentioned, among other things, that Hungary has concluded an agreement with the EEC, established an official relation with the Republic of Korea, and Hungarian-Israeli relations are developing.

The state secretary emphasized that Hungary is extremely interested in the radical reduction of conventional weapons. At the same time he noted that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary can take place only within a general European disarmament process which includes the withdrawal of American troops from Western Europe. Answering a question he said that the number of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary increased for a time in 1956, but since then has remained unchanged.

The state secretary also mentioned that a change in style can currently be experienced in the relations of the socialist countries towards one another, and that existing problems are raised in an open way at talks. It is a fact that problems, and at times tensions, weigh on the Hungarian-Romanian relation, although the recent summit in Arad implied major progress. The most important result of the summit is that many problems which the Romanian side refused to discuss earlier have now been placed on the agenda of talks after several years. We are striving to improve relations, Mr Horn stressed. In connection with a question Mr Horn reconfirmed that the 12 Romanian citizens who indicated their intention to settle in Hungary in September, are still at the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia. Almost without exception, the persons in question have relatives and resettled relatives living in Hungary. The question could be considered a family reunification problem. Mr Horn said that several rounds of negotiations have been held in the meantime with the Romanian authorities on permitting the resettlement of the group in question. These discussions have not led to any results to date. He stressed that the Bulgarian Government is striving, with the greatest possible readiness to help, to promote an end to the affair. The Hungarian side does not wish that this case set a precedent, as the problems of resettlement and family reunification have to be remedied in other ways. The Hungarian Government strives to solve the situation, and is ready to grant an immediate resettlement permit. At the same time, the assent of the Romanian side is also necessary, Mr Horn said, and voiced his hope that the Romanian Government will consent to the resettlement on humanitarian grounds. Until then the Hungarian side endeavours to create suitable conditions for the eight adults and four children in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia.

Mr Horn noted that Hungary continues to wishes [as received] to promote the facilitation of trips abroad. Several hundred persons have not returned to Hungary since the introduction of the new passport valid to all countries of the world, however, this will not result in restricting the travels of citizens abroad, he noted in conclusion.

Foreign journalists met with State Secretary of Trade Miklos Andriko in the ethnography museum. Mr Andriko said that the fact that ASTA chose Budapest as the venue of its congress shows appreciation for the Hungarian tourism trade. This is also enhanced by the fact that the American Society of Travel Agents is holding its conference in a socialist country for the first time.

The state secretary noted that the increasing liberalization of Hungarian economic management creates a favourable situation to involve foreign capital and set up joint ventures. Over the next five to six years, Hungarian tourism intends to create 8,000 to 10,000 hotel beds, for which it is counting on the capital of American firms. Mr Andriko said that, as compared to last year, the number of Hungarians visiting the Western countries has increased four-fold, to 3.5 million, since the introduction—on January 1—of the new passport valid to all countries of the world. The total number of trips abroad stands at about 10 million.

Peter Varkonyi Address Marks UN Day

LD2410230288 Budapest MTI in English
2145 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—On the occasion of the Day of the United Nations the Hungarian UN Society held an anniversary session and heard the report of Peter Varkonyi on the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly. The head of the Hungarian diplomacy made a contribution on the problems of peace and security, and the joint proposal on the comprehensive system of peace and security tabled by the socialist countries two years ago. Among other things Peter Varkonyi pointed out that the issues of world economy, environmental protection, human rights, and humanitarian questions constitute an organic part of the concept of security. The multilateral and continuous coordination of interests as a prerequisite to the establishment of security. The further development of the initiative of the socialist countries at the 43rd session serves the end that the issue be attributed the attention it deserves.

The other issue is the cooperation in Europe, including the successful completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, which may open the way to the talks on conventional disarmament. Advance in this field may be regarded as encouragement in other fields. Hungary is seeking to actively participate in the advancement of conventional disarmament, and interested that it should be included in the first measures.

On human rights Peter Varkonyi pointed out that the work of the United Nations have given new dimension to multilateral cooperation in the area of human rights: Among other things with the compiling the catalogue of human rights, and the elaboration of international control mechanisms. In this context Mr Varkonyi emphasized that it is an increasingly marked trait of Hungarian foreign policy that it is seeking to establish fruitful cooperation with the community of nations in order to universally assert human and civil rights. To this end Hungary holds that the enforcement of individual and collective rights within national frameworks cannot be considered the internal affair of solely one country, but a prerequisite to settled interstate relations. In this spirit the head of the Hungarian diplomacy announced an important Hungarian move before the General Assembly: The Hungarian People's Republic accepted the competence of the UN Human Rights Committee specified by in the 41st provision of the International Document of Civil and Political Rights and at the same time joined the document's facultative protocol. The documents were deposited at the general secretary of the United Nations.

With this move we wished to indicate that we want to participate as equal partners in the joint international efforts aimed at enforcing the regulating norms and control also in human right issues.

Peter Varkonyi said that the International Document of Civil and Political Rights came to force in 1976 and Hungary was among the first to join. The 41st clause provides for a particular form of control, the acceptance of which Hungary now indicated to the general secretary. According to the clause the Human Rights Committee can investigate allegations in which one state declares that another does not meet the obligations undertaken in the document. This clause, however, effects only states that accepted the competence of the 18-strong Human Rights Committee in a separate declaration. Up to date 21 member states have made such declaration, with Hungary the only socialist country.

At the same time Hungary have joined the facultative protocol of the International Document of Civil and Political Rights which authorizes the Human Rights Committee to enquire in the report of private individuals who state that a signatory state encroached on their rights stipulated by the document. With regard to the facultative protocol, Hungary is the only socialist country among the 41 signatory states.

Ervin Gombos, general secretary of the society, announced that in compliance with the proposal of the 11th European regional conference of the World Federation of UN Societies the Hungarian UN Society is to set up a human rights committee which, in cooperation with domestic social committees and organizations, undertakes the tasks related to the assertion of human rights.

FDP Delegation Concludes Visit, Departs

LD2110014688 Budapest MTI in English
2327 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—A delegation from the parliamentary faction of the West German Free Democratic Party, which paid a visit to Hungary from October 16 to 20 at the invitation of Mr Matyas Szuros, HSWP [MSZMP] CC secretary and president of the foreign affairs commission of parliament, has left Hungary. The delegation was headed by Mr Wolfgang Mischnick, FDP deputy chairman and president of the parliamentary faction, and included Mr Gunther Nolting, MP, member of the defence committee; Mr Fritz Fliszar, acting president of the Friedrich-Neumann Foundation; Mr Stefan Heydeck, spokesman for the FDP faction; and official Mr Horst Dalmeyer.

The delegation was received by Mr Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Janos Kadar, HSWP president.

The delegation met Messrs Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, Matyas Szuros, Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, Geza Kotai, head of the CC's Foreign Affairs Department, Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and members of the Central Committee, and the board of the Democratic Federation of Germans in Hungary.

In a cordial, friendly atmosphere, the sides surveyed topical international affairs, with special regard to strengthening peace and international security, and deepening cooperation in Europe.

The sides discussed in detail the state of Hungarian-West German relations and stated that the traditionally good bilateral cooperation which was developing in all walks of life served the interests of both countries. They examined the possibilities for the two parties and the FDP parliamentary factions to make a more effective contribution to strengthening the favourable processes.

Grosz Greets New Bavarian Prime Minister

LD2110213388 Budapest MTI in English
1921 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Mr Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has cabled his very best wishes to Mr Max Streibl on his election as new prime minister of Bavaria.

Grosz Interviewed by Austrian Television

LD2110213588 Budapest MTI in English
1920 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—On Friday [21 October], Mr Karoly Grosz, HSWP [MSZMP] general secretary and prime minister, gave an interview in Budapest's parliament building to Mr Paul Lendvai, director-general of Austrian television, to be shown on ORF.

Grosz Receives U.S. Antinuclear Activist

LD2110212988 Budapest MTI in English
1945 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—In Budapest's parliament building on Friday [21 October], Mr Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Mr Bernard Lown, American co-chairman of the International Movement of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Academician Zsuzsa Hollan, acting chairwoman of the movement's Hungarian national committee, also attended the cordial meeting.

Earlier in the day, Mr Janos Kadar, HSWP [MSZMP] president, had met Mr Lown in CC headquarters.

Bank Official Rebuts VW Fraud Allegations

LD1910223188 Budapest MTI in English
2135 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn, October 19 (MTI)—On Wednesday [19 October], Mr Frigyes Harshegyi, head of the representation of the National Bank of Hungary (MNB) in Frankfurt am Main, gave an interview to MTI's Bonn correspondent in which he denied allegations concerning the MNB which will appear in Thursday's issue of the West German weekly "Stern".

The "STERN" article alleges that Joachim Schmidt, owner of a foreign exchange agency, currently in custody because of his part in a large-scale currency fraud at Volkswagen [VW], has made a detailed confession. Schmidt, who fled to the United States to escape prosecution but was later extradited, is quoted as saying that he worked for the MNB not only as an agent but was also authorized to enter into speculative transactions off his own bat. He alleges he presented luxury Western goods to Hungarian exchange brokers in order to be given a free hand.

Mr. Harshegyi had this to say about the accusations: 'Schmidt certainly had no authorization from the MNB. All of these allegations are in aid of is presenting Schmidt as an agent of the MNB and, by laying the blame for the whole business on the MNB, enforcing Volkswagen's financial claims against the MNB. But there's no way they'll succeed: Volkswagen's lawyers know very well that Schmidt did not represent the bank but forged the futures deals in question in cooperation with his accomplice, Burghard Junger, former head of VW's currency department, who was temporarily released on bail of DM one million.'

As reported earlier, during the trial currently underway in a Frankfurt am Main court, Junger gave a gravely damning testimony about Schmidt. He admitted having committed the abuses in cooperation with Schmidt by falsifying documents, and laid the main blame on his accomplice. At that time, Junger confirmed that the MNB knew nothing about the abuses. Earlier, however, it was Junger who implicated the MNB in the whole affair.

In June of last year, the MNB brought proceedings against Volkswagen to clear its name. The aim was to obtain a court ruling that the bank had had no part in the currency fraud and was not liable to any claim, financial or otherwise. The court is currently hearing the bank's case for declaring its non-involvement and Volkswagen's counter-claim.

Mr Harshegyi said of the trial: 'The court has delegated a foreign exchange expert to examine several issues and his evaluation is underway. The MNB, however, has lodged a motion of bias against the expert which is now being looked into.'

Mr Harshegyi said that the expert, Mr Erwin Blumental, had not confined his contribution to answering the court's questions, but had tried to influence the court's decision against the MNB by voicing his personal opinion.

Military Delegation Returns From Romania

LD1410223888 Budapest MTI in English
1654 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Lieutenant General Istvan Narai, Hungarian deputy minister of defence and chief supervisor of training of the Hungarian People's Army, who headed a military delegation on a five-day official friendship visit to Romania, returned to Budapest on Friday [21 October]. During the visit to Romania, the delegation met Colonel-General Vasile Milea, Romanian minister of national defence.

Military Delegation Departs for China

LD2410162888 Budapest MTI in English
1435 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—Heading a military delegation, Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army and deputy minister of defence, left for an official friendly visit to China on Monday. The delegation was invited by the chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army of China.

PRC Military Delegation Concludes Visit

LD2610132488 Budapest MTI in English
1200 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI)—A military delegation headed by Colonel-General Yan Peiping, chief of the political division of the People's Liberation Army of China, paid an official friendly visit to Hungary from October 20 to 26. The Chinese colonel-general met Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence. Discussions were held with Lieutenant General Istvan Horvath, chief of the political division and deputy minister, on the development of political and cultural education in the two armies and the further improvement of cooperation.

Colonel-General Yan and his entourage paid visits to an air-defence unit of the Hungarian People's Army, the Munnich Ferenc Barracks at Szekesfehervar and the Tata-based armoured-car unit.

Austrian Military Delegation Visits 18-21 Oct

LD2210063088 Budapest MTI in English
2104 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Heading a military delegation, General Othmar Tauschitz, chief inspector of the Austrian Federal Army, paid an official friendly visit to Hungary from October 18 to 21. The delegation held talks with Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff, on the relations of the two armies and further opportunities for developing cooperation. The guests called at Zrinyi Miklos Military Academy, the Tata-based armoured-car unit of the Hungarian People's Army, and saw the historic and cultural sights of the country.

Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, met General Othmar Tauschitz and his entourage at the Defence Ministry on Friday [21 October].

'Forum' Program Discusses Multiparty System

LD2110112888 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1935 GMT 19 Oct 88

["Forum" studio phone-in program with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest party committee; and Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Cental Committee Politburo, presented by Janos Horvath—live]

[Text] [Horvath] Good evening. You may see our telephone number—170700—and you may also see those who answer: Janos Berecz, Mihaly Jasso, and Rezso Nyers. The first question is addressed to—to start if I may—Janos Berecz. Arpad Pilinszki from Marvany Street asks how a nonparty member should address a high-ranking party leader. Should it be mister or comrade? He also wants to know how Berecz should address him.

[Berecz] In human relations and in direct conversation I believe in plainspokenness and recognized or deserved respect. On the basis of this I would prefer that someone be addressed as comrade. However, if he does not consider himself a comrade, he should not feel offended, and if someone is addressed as mister but doesn't consider himself a gentleman, then he should not take offense at this. I consider comrade and mister to be natural; I can accept both.

[Horvath] Mikhail Jasso sits in the middle. Ferenc Nyerges on 866324 asks whether the rumor that a countercommunist party called the Hungarian Communist Party has been formed is true. By the way, the question is serious.

[Jasso] Of course, I too take it seriously. I have heard the rumor. So far none of its member or candidate members have announced themselves, saying that they want to leave the MSZMP in order to join the other party.

[Horvath] An opening question to Comrade Nyers: What is the official title of those who are paid for working for the party? Are they party workers or party employees?

[Nyers] In official registration they are party employees, but I prefer the term party worker.

[Horvath] Karoly Toth of Budapest asks that because Comrade Nyers, too, is a party worker, is his work card there?

[Nyers] I am not a party worker. I work in the science sector, and my work card is there, too. I receive a salary from there as well. It is the University of Economics.

[Horvath] In other words, you are not paid for your function as a Politburo member?

[Nyers] No, no.

[Horvath] By the beginning of the program we had received nearly 1,500 questions, which vary considerably. A question from 761-188 asks this: Party congresses stated decades ago that they laid the foundations of socialism, then later said that they have been building an advanced socialist society. On the other hand, Janos Berecz recently declared that the present economic and social system was not a socialist one. What kind of system is in use in Hungary?

[Berecz] In my view, the proclamation of the construction of an advanced socialist society was premature; it did not originate from an analysis of the true situation, of the social reality. I believe that there is a great deal of truth in the fact that we have laid the foundations for socialism. However, I think that in our society there are still certain foundations, bases of the old society, as well as foundations and characteristic features of the new society, the socialist society that we are trying to construct. Therefore, I say that we are in a transient social period. This is a longer historical period, which we will remain in until we complete the construction of a socialist society, the social foundations of which are dominating unambiguously as the hallmarks of socialism.

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to add a remark to this. It is an interesting definition. I would say somewhat differently, but not contradictorily, that we are presently in a phase of rearranging and reorganizing the foundations of socialism.

[Unidentified speaker] Considering its character, it is still socialism, considering its character...

[Horvath, interrupting] How do you mean by that?

[Unidentified speaker] Well, the question was asked that if it isn't socialism, then what is it?

[Unidentified speaker] Considering its character...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Considering its character...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] [word indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] But not two socialisms...

[Unidentified speaker] But not two socialisms, not under any circumstances.

[Horvath] There is surely uncertainty behind this question. I saw a television program recently in which youngsters spoke about history textbooks, and history teachers spoke about education. They spoke about their worry that in the people's minds there is confusion, e.g., the youngsters must find it extremely difficult to study when the explanation of things is left to the teacher—because the history textbook is 2 or 3 years old.

A question from 534-288 for Mihail Jasso: Why is it that since the May party conference, the public mood has, instead of calming down, become even more restless? Can it be viewed as mistrust of the leadership?

[Jasso] We are experiencing distrust of the leadership, in general. Here I am not specifically referring to the leadership which was changed at the party conference. Restlessness has probably increased because the public expected a decision from the party conference. (?Its) realization of the satisfaction of the expected requirements is perhaps not taking place at the pace or in the (?form) expected by the individual, or even by those who decided on it at the party conference.

[Horvath] Here is a question from Norbert Kriszt, telephone number 82-12485: Has it been clarified by now—I suppose that this means among yourselves, because as far as I know this has not yet appeared publicly—what inheritance the present party leadership has assumed from the previous one? And if so—that is to say, if this has been clarified—will this be made public?

[Berecz] This is a process. The party conference did clarify one or two things when it elected a new leadership to head the party, the Central Committee, and the Politburo. This is a kind of evaluation and a criticism as well. Alongside this, when we deal with economic issues or with domestic political issues, then to a certain extent we always pronounce judgement on the previous period, partly by what we recognize and on what we want to build, and partly with what we wish to change or what we wish to do in a completely different way.

As a matter of fact, in order to clarify what the questioner had in mind, the Central Committee has for this purpose sent out a work committee. The Central Committee entrusted it with the task of evaluating the previous period by the time of the next congress, and of giving an account before the congress concerning to what extent the party's program declaration is either valid or not valid; that it should propose something else in its place, or what it proposes in its place; or that it should determine the past period's errors committed in the various spheres; or, in summing up the results, it should pronounce a judgement on the previous 15, 20, 30, or perhaps even 40 years.

[Horvath] Now, this inheritance is obviously also a principled inheritance—at least this is what the question formulates—but this inheritance has material—well, parts.

[Berecz] Yes.

[Horvath] Well, is the assessment of this also under way in exactly the same way?

[Nyers] Yes. The economic situation must be examined in its own specific way as to what was good, what was wrong, and what was unsuccessful. This is not entirely the same category. The same thing also has to be done, in my opinion, for cultural life. So, a specific evaluation requires a deeper analysis, and this can be done by the time of the congress.

[Horvath] Istvan Geza Debrecen asks Janos Berecz: If you were to write your book "The Counterrevolution With Pens and Arms" today, would you write it in exactly the same way?

[Berecz] With the exception of a few expressions or observations, I would probably write my thoughts in the same way. But it does not reflect the full range. For example, it does not deal with the democratic mass movement which struggled and worked—not only within the party, but also among the masses outside the party—for a renewal, a change in socialism, and for the elimination of crimes and mistakes. And I would write more forcefully on the national tragedy which we lived through in October and November 1956.

[Horvath] How would this change things? In other words, why would you write about this in a different way, if I might ask?

[Berecz] In the fall of 1984 I made a statement to Gyorgy Balo for MOZGO VILAG, and at that time I revealed these issues, or I expressed them as my opinion. During the course of time, one reflects. One learns new facts. On the other hand, I once again examined the December 1956 resolution and I realized that in our opinion-making we had bunched ourselves excessively around four reasons: the mistakes and crimes of the former, or the Rakosi, leadership; the betrayal of the Imre Nagy group; the internal enemy; and the external imperialist activity. We forgot about a very important part indeed in that resolution—about this democratic mass movement, without which the turnabout would not have taken place, and on which we had to build in the period of consolidation. A government, no matter how many people it consists of, will not result in social reality and a normal, healthy social action. This required the mass which desired to break completely with the Rakosi crimes and mistakes.

[Horvath] Because you have brought up the name of Imre Nagy, here is a question in this connection from telephone number 21072: When will Imre Nagy, Maleter, and the others executed in 1956 receive a marked resting place? That is the question.

[Berecz] To the best of my knowledge, the government is dealing with this; there is no concrete date for it as yet. This is a painful process which requires a little time. This is because there has to be an exhumation; agreement has to be reached with the family; and all these processes have to be carried to completion. Then, when the family can have them [not specified]—because this is the situation now—then they will decide on the gravesite and the method of burial.

[Horvath] In actual fact, what lies behind this question is that what is at issue here is not the rehabilitation, or interpretation, or anything else, of the person; it is simply a question of paying last respects.

[Berecz] In my opinion, this should already have been done earlier, because anyone who has lived in this country, no matter how he dies, deserves to have a burial place.

[Horvath] Then one more question, if you will allow me, connected with 1956. Telephone number 652842 asks: Thirty-two years after the October events one can again hear ever stronger and louder extremist views, on the pretext of the expanding democracy and openness. How different or similar is the present situation to the one at that time, and what guarantee is there that the events of 1956 will not be repeated?

[Berecz] History rarely repeats itself, and if it does, even then it is not exactly the same. In my view our social and economic reality is now different. Our society is more mature. And, with the exception of a few hotheaded people—but I cannot name them, I only assume that perhaps they exist—the whole of society, in my view, wants to emerge from the present situation by way of consensus, with the extension of democracy, with a guarantee of free opinion, and not with a clash which would once again make us notorious in the world and which would cause this nation a lot of pain. I think that there is an absolute majority interest in our finding a way out together, for the good of the nation.

[Nyers] I also say that the situation is not the same as then. There are similarities. The similarity is that, with the effect of the 20th CPSU Congress, a greater openness and the demand for openness also began in Hungary. To this extent the situation is similar, but the leadership then did not proceed as far in opening up, in a democratic opening up, as today's has done. It differs fundamentally in this. In my opinion, in 1956, the great, the grave mistake and error of the Rakosi-type politics were uncovered. It is a different situation today. So, it was realized that everything must be cast off, and there was much to be said in favor of this. Now, there is that which can be continued, and there is that which must be abandoned. This is the fundamental difference.

[Horvath] In itself, I think it would be dangerous to even accept a kind of cyclical aspect, in which the situation repeats itself, for this then would suppose that these kinds of processes belong to socialism.

[Nyers] Mainly in their methods of solution.

[Horvath] Yes, in their methods of solution, too.

[Nyers] For there can be similarities in social tension, similar crisis phenomena on certain questions, political problems, tensions in society. But if the solution, the way out, is the same as in 1956, cyclicalism does not necessarily have to be repeated here.

[Berecz] I would add to this that the contradictions accumulating in society, if they are not resolved in time, lead to certain tensions, to economic, political, and social tensions, but not necessarily to crisis. At the beginning of the sixties there was political tension in our country, and we found a way out of this with the reform. At the beginning of the seventies there was also internal political and social tension. Unfortunately, the international economic processes under way at that time added extra burdens to this, so it was not resolved; the economic tension increased, so now we are in a period filled with crisis phenomena which must be handled much more seriously.

[Horvath] Peter Kelemen of Varosmajor Street asks Mihaly Jasso: Will there be a party conference in Budapest?

[Jasso] In Budapest, in districts, they have decided in several places already that there will be conferences—specifically three districts have decided on this. In several other districts the debate on this is underway. I consider this question to be quite natural. It probably developed from the premise that it would have been better to have held a series of party conferences initiatied from below prior to the national party conference. This would have provided a better party conference program and resolved personnel questions. The fact that the demand for this is still in itself being made also contains this requirement. I am also thinking of the fact that the situation today is somewhat more unsettled, politically, a little more unsettled than it was in May, following the success of the party conference. This situation in itself can also contain the demand that we hold a party conference to more quickly overcome our worries and problems. Such a demand can also contain the idea that somehow only a party conference can dissolve tensions, whether the tensions concern searching for programs or solving personnel questions. So, I fully agree with this demand, if the conference has a substantive content.

[Horvath] A strange rite is developing here. The agenda goes like this: The party committee meets somewhere, not necessarily in Budapest, but any committee, and then says that this meeting is not necessary. Then the membership comes along and says yes it is necessary. So the meeting does come about after all, and then nothing changes. Excuse me for putting this in such basic terms.

[Jasso] Let me add something to this. The Budapest party committee has also dealt with this topic, but it did not decide on whether or not there should be a meeting or if this was necessary. We took the position that we must base our decision on whether or not there should be a meeting on the Budapest party membership's requirements. However, it must be known that if this also reaches the level of the capital, then we must start from all the base organizations. This must be done democratically. If we start with this now, then we can reach a Budapest party conference in February. Then we will start again in October, for somewhere around there the preparation for the congress will commence.

One more observation: In the course of the party meetings, in the course of their preparatory work in all counties, including Budapest, we held a party committee meeting expanded by not inconsiderable numbers. We worked on the preparations for the party conference. The Budapest party aktivs at the time described this as the nub of a revolt. The television viewers were able to see...

[Horvath, interrupting] So it was held before the national party conference?

[Jasso] Yes. So, I think that the Budapest party committee, looking back in the past period, does not have to reproach itself for not being part of the renewal. I avow with conviction—and now it is not a question of the Budapest party committee as a body, but rather the accumulated experiences which the Budapest party organs in this city have collected, thus the experience of the Budapest Communist movement, the Budapest section of the movement—[that the Budapest party committee] did contribute to the party conference.

[Horvath] Anything else?

[Berecz] I would like to add that the Central Committee receives rather a lot of reproaches asking why is this to and fro; why did we not say whether there was a need for this everywhere or not? This is the old thinking. What I would like to have understood is that the purification, the renewal, does not depend on the Central Committee alone, that it should prescribe that this should be carried out everywhere, and that we have dealt with it and can tick it off. This debate—that there should be or should not be—relates to the renewal of every organization, and if the membership cannot accept the position of the party committee in the first round, then in the second round it should enforce its will. However, I would like to add to this that it is only in the narrower leadership that there have not been changes. The composition of the party committees and the composition of the executive committees has changed significantly everywhere. As for the narrower leadership—that is, the secretaries—they should be glad that they are valued and that confidence has once again been expressed in them.

[Jasso] Excuse me for interrupting, but the leadership in Budapest has changed considerably in recent times.

[Berecz] That it true.

[Horvath] There are three questions here which I would like to combine. Elmer Csaba, telephone number 896-875; Mrs [name indistinct] asks: What is the goal that the New March Front has set for itself? Who can join it? Will there be a membership fee? And, this is the second question, how does Rezso Nyers find himself on the same platform as Miklos Vasahelyi [a journalist who in 1957 was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for his part in the uprising]? Can he justify being a member of the Politburo and also playing a role in that organization?

[Nyers] The New March Front sets itself the task of evaluating the question of the fate of the country, society, and of the nation, to analyze the past and the present—that is, the links between the past and the present—and to seek a way out of the present crisis situation. It seeks to create an intellectual synthesis in this respect and to help the leadership of the country. This is its purpose, and nothing more. It is neither a party nor an organization. It will not have members. This is what we have decided. Rather, it will have participants. It will function through working groups which will analyze the themes, and those who participate in this work will be participants in the March Front. There will not be a membership fee, at least not for the time being, and perhaps not even later on.

As for Miklos Vasarhelyi, his name and my name. Let us take these two names. This expresses the diverse character of this intellectual grouping, the linking of various views. We thoroughly discussed beforehand what our views were, how they diverged, and we looked at the question of whether there was any common ground. We found that there were differences in our views. These differences, however, appear on the foundation of a shared common ideal, namely that of socialism. Thus, we have common ground. Furthermore, socialism is not the only thing that we have in common. What we also share is the fact that Miklos Vasarhelyi, I, and every participant in this front exhibit a catastrophe-and a danger-preventing type of behavior. We want to help the country's leadership, meaning that when and where it is necessary, we criticize it. This is what we have in common.

[Berecz] Let me add to this something that Comrade Nyers did not mention in his reply. Comrade Nyers did consult with the Politburo on whether his membership in the Politburo and his role there can coincide, and the Politburo supported him in this endeavor.

[Horvath] But if I work out the dates correctly, Comrade Nyers was not a member of the Politburo when he joined the March Front.

[Nyers] Yes, that is correct. But I was a Communist, a member of the Central Committee; even then, although I argued inside the Central Committee, I accepted party discipline. I have always accepted it and will go on accepting it. And the good thing, the change as compared to the earlier situation, is that for a Communist, even for a leading Communist, it makes it possible to engage in the life of society.

[Jasso] I would like to add a comment here. These forum programs, with their conversational character, are good in part because one can see that Comrade Nyers resolves this tension in himself in a relaxed manner, thinking politically, whereas a good many Communist Party members in the capital cannot do the same so easily. This is something that we have experienced during the past few months. We have given them the same answer that Comrade Nyers has given here. I think that this will help in having this whole topic—the joint action of various tendencies—understood.

[Horvath] Now, please do not misunderstand me, this next question is another topic. Agnes Kelemen from Miskolc asks: Is there an opposition inside the MSZMP, and are there any factions?

[Berecz] I am not aware of factions. There are certainly those—not just one or two people; in fact, one could say that at times there are tendencies and occasionally groups who express some sort of view—who do not agree with everything and who argue. But, at last we are a debating party. If we can preserve the characteristic that policy is evolved in the course of debates, and then we make decisions, and after the decisions we begin to act, while at the same time also appreciating minority views and checking on the basis of experience whether we should reevaluate something, then this will be a healthy and good party.

[Nyers] Excuse me. I would add that in my opinion there is an opposition on individual questions within the party. As for the general line, I would say that different interpretations do still exist. It is not an opposition, but it is a difference of interpretation which must be clarified within the party's life.

[Horvath] How do you define opposition within the party? In other words, there is no faction or opposition?

[Nyers] Please, on individual questions—let's say on the question of enterprise councils, but even if I take company law, on whether we permit foreign capital to own 100 percent of something, in this respect there is opposition. He who opposes this acts as the opposition on this issue, but—take care, this is not a political opposition.

[Berecz] Comrade Nyers, this exists over the tax issue.

[Nyers] On the tax issue too, without question.

[Horvath] Is there someone who wants an even higher tax?

[Nyers] He who opposes the entire tax system is the (?opposition)...

[Horvath] The entire tax system?

[Nyers] Of course. Because as for the tax brackets, the shortcomings of the tax system, well, the party itself and I myself, as a member of the committee on tax affairs, are in the opposition. Well, it must be improved.

[Horvath] A question from 820-295 asks if there are revisionists.

[Berecz] I would say that I have not met such people recently, people who could be described as revisionists, but one can often meet those who place a question mark either against a stance, or reality, or an important philosophical or ideological tenet. However, those who try, on the basis of new experiences, to reach a new conclusion I do not describe as so-called revisionists.

[Horvath] For a long time anyone who uttered the word pluralism was considered a revisionist.

[Unidentified speaker] We have advanced to the stage of pluralism as an existing reality. I would like to return to the point that there are more than 800,000 party members, 200,000 of them in Budapest. The views of 200,000 people cannot march in one line. It would be naivity to imagine this. Therefore, it is obvious that a difference of opinion does exist within the party. As one question put it: Did you know that a real Communist Party had been organized?

Well, if it is within the party then it is obviously one type of opposition in this party. Well, obviously it is not a right-wing opposition. It is likely that the movement of society will bring to the surface very many tendencies in the party. We have not yet categorized such terms as platform or faction. We are now dealing with these issues. I can conceive of a platform within the party because it does exist; and therefore it would be harmful not to concede it. But as for factions; no, those I cannot imagine.

[Horvath] Does faction mean a minority?

[Berecz] No, it is an organization, a group within the party, an organized act of taking a stand.

[Unidentified speaker] Another party, it is better than to be separate, thus....

[Horvath] Levente Szantai of Miskolc asks: What is the explanation for the Democratic Forum developing within a few months from an illegal organization into a legal organization? And what is your view on their intention to field National Assembly deputy candidates or to start up a newspaper?

[Berecz] I would not describe it as previously illegal or forbidden and now legal, because all of us would expect the law of association which has been discussed in social debate to be adopted by the National Assembly; and then everybody will be able to come forward with his own little organization. However, socialist pluralism does feature in the program or stand of the national party conference. In the course of making socialist pluralism prevail, we accept the Hungarian Democratic Forum. If it operates within the legal framework we shall not only accept it but shall also examine concretely what the relationship of the party and of the party members to it should be like.

[Horvath] Arpad Martinka on 891-761 asks why the operation of the Democratic Organization of Youth [FIDESZ] is not allowed? Other questions here ask why the operation of FIDESZ is allowed.

[Berecz] In this regard too, I think what is at issue is why do we tolerate or why we do not want to tolerate. This is the situation regarding FIDESZ too, only the arguments around it are a little sharper because its statements too are sharper, and because some of its stands cannot be accepted or are debatable. It is for this reason that the atmosphere is sharper around it...

[Horvath interrupts] From the viewpoint of the party.

[Berecz] From the viewpoint of the party. Therefore, the atmosphere is thicker around it, but it is my conviction that on the basis of the law of association, if FIDESZ intends to operate within the constitutional framework we shall have no occasion or cause not to recognize it.

[Horvath] For example, is there a difference between Pest and the country?

[Jasso] There probably is, but less and less between Budapest and the large towns in the country. From this viewpoint the guilty town, in a political sense,

[Unidentified voice interrupts] Where there are university centers, research institute centers, centers of intellectual life, there it does appear. Obviously in the capital, its order of magnitude is different.

One issue is still missing from the answer—whether one can start a newspaper or not. If an organization is operating in a constitutionally permitted way, it is quite natural that it has a right to legal appearance. At least for me this is natural.

[Horvath] Let me ask something. Is it now the norm to allow these organizations? Or is there no control to allow them? Or is it downright a good thing that they are here? By the latter I mean that the party has tried to renew itself so often, but it seems that it can only be renewed if it measures itself against something, or does renewal come by itself? Perhaps the question was a little complicated, but...

[Jasso interrupts] This question of self-control...

[Nyers interrupts] In my opinion, we are consciously allowing this, and it is a good thing that these organizations exist. The party needs supervision, intellectual supervision, political supervision. This supervision cannot happen otherwise, but that there are free organizations which adopt a stand on political questions. But the party does have self-control, I would not deny this. Self-control is also a supervision, and if this is decent—that is, democracy within the party is normal—then self-control of the party is a very decent process.

[Horvath] If, if this works.

[Nyers] This is natural.

[Jasso] But in a nondemocratic society, this self-control is not a sufficient control. It is clear that this is too little.

[Berecz] Let me add that since the party conference, our behaviour on these questions is easier, because we recognized then that society has a right, what is more, a duty, to self-organization, and that the expression of interests have some kind of organizational forms too. So if we acknowledged and recognized this at the national party conference, then we must recognize that this process is under way. The question is to what extent can we participate in this, how much can we tolerate each other, argue, carry out a dialogue, and pit certain interests against each other too if necessary.

[Horvath] There is a question from Komarom, from Laszlo Intze: Can party members join the various groupings which are called alternative, and how do they know what is permitted for them and what is prohibited? That is, party members.

[Berecz] For the moment, we are just conducting a debate on these questions. We do not have a specific, delineated standpoint, because we have to wait for the law on association. But certainly, in those organizations which, from a political point of view, operate within constitutional frameworks and recognize or wish to support the construction of socialism, the participation of party members cannot be hindered. What is more, well, we cannot just work among each other but in the whole of society, too. If there are such movements, such organizations, and they are not hostile, then we must work there.

[Horvath] The question is usually put: Can party members join? I would put it in the opposite way. An alternative organization means an alternative. Why would a party member join an alternative organization? That means that either he has problems with his own....

[Jasso, interrupting] We also dealt with this in our party committee session. We also issued a statement on it concerning what the opinion of the Budapest party committee is on these organizations, on their relationship to them. It is hard to judge today whether a party member should join or not, because we only know programs. This program can be colorful, loyal, constitutional, and so on. It is the practical activity of the organizations which will really determine our stand toward them. I believe that the behavior of party members should be governed by the debate on views, and not by the kinds of series of questions which has arisen on whether party members should join or not. What is more, party members cannot be expected to operate these organizations—for example, the Democratic Forum or FIDESZ—but they should participate in the debate with them. This is what can be expected of party members.

[Horvath] Another question. Gyorgy Keresztes on 831-440 asks Rezso Nyers: Just as the two parties united 40 years ago, is it conceivable that they could now divide?

[Nyers] Well, in theory, everything can be imagined.

[Horvath] Here we are talking about the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

[Nyers] Yes, yes; naturally. But in my opinion, this would be anachronistic today. The Hungarian Communist movement is now proceeding toward a Communist synthesis in which the revolutionariness of the earlier Communist movement, and the democratization and realpolitik of the earlier social democratic movement are really becoming amalgamated. So, just now, in my opinion, it is not timely. This could have arisen earlier, but it would be a mistake now.

[Horvath] Now, about the separation of the Social Democratic Party and the Commuanist Party.

[Nyers] Yes, yes, yes.

[Horvath, interrupting] There is a large number of questions here, and already in the newsreel program my colleague Akos Moldovanyi put the question—which might be formulated one way or another, but the question expressed is this—it was asked by Istvan Juhasz, at telephone number 409428: Why are you afraid of the introduction of the multiparty system? Now, is this something that requires action, or does it come about itself, or are we heading this way? In the newsreel you gave one-sentence replies. Perhaps you could now answer more fully.

[Berecz] I am convinced that this is not a question of an introduction [of a multiparty system]. We will see how the economic and social situation in Hungary develops and shapes itself, and how the political culture, the political spectrum, the political diversity, develop. And on this footing I can imagine that the one-party system will endure if people feel that, politically, too, they can express their interests and efforts, and not necessarily within the framework of party organizations, and perhaps even within opposition organizations as well. [sentence as heard] It is conceivable that a party may grow out of some of them, out of this one or that one. And then the question is not whether we introduce it or do not introduce it, but rather where this development leads. To introduce it now, and to say: Form a party. Well, that would lead to a political struggle over power in our country which, in my opinion, we do not need now, because we must resolve big problems.

[Horvath] But, as I see it, they do not have to be called to form this or that [organization].

[Berecz] No.

[Horvath] Because, in other words, these go under the name of organizations.

[Jasso] Sooner or later they will turn into something. Either they will remain as loose organizations, or they will be organized into parties. The Greens did not start out as a party, either; they organized into a party.

[Nyers] In my view we are not afraid—we must not be afraid—of a multiparty system. It is anarchy which we fear, and it is not without grounds that we are now afraid. Now, in such a critical situation, there is a need rather for national consensus. If there were more parties, in my view they too would now have to join forces, just as in any other similar situation in the world, in other countries of the world.

[Horvath] What is this? Is it an organizational combining of forces?

[Nyers] This is a coalition; it would be a coalition if there were a multiparty system, because this is not suited for an administrative shift system [kormanyzati valtogazdasag]. In a critical situation the opposition definitely lives off dissatisfaction. And if it gets into the government it will not be able to satisfy the dissatisfaction, and so on. Therefore, this is the problem here. I think that we now should bring into being an alliance around the party, similar to a coalition, or of a coalition nature. In this situation this would resolve the political problem itself, which, let us say, may be raised by the lack of a multiparty system.

[Berecz] Well, the root and the germ of this perhaps exist in the present political ferment, because, after all, the trade union movement is also preparing for renewal, and the Communist Youth League is launching a national debate among the ranks of its members, and among the young. The People's Front must now definitely once again become a People's Front being built from below. And there are other social formations and organizations, a considerable proportion of which, in my view, are tolerant vis-a-vis the system and the government. The possibility for cooperation can be found. Whether we then call this a coalition, or a loose joining of forces, or something else, well, that will have to be evolved jointly.

[Horvath] Does this have any foreseeable, let us say, scale, in years, or do you not deal with this, or do you deal with this only as private individuals?

[Nyers] Not as private individuals.

[Jasso] Not at all.

[Nyers] Look, with regard to the trade unions, I believe that the renewal is scheduled for December. The renewal of the Communist Youth League has already started. The People's Front has announced its renewal. It is that which I presently see as the most tardy. But even so, this also figures in the program.

[Horvath] Well, now that I have asked you, here is a quick question. In answering the various questions, how would we formulate it: Whose opinions are you expressing? One at a time, now.

[Berecz] I think that when we formulate our answers, we are all expressing our own opinions. However, because we are together quite a lot, at Central Committee sessions, we discuss important questions, and at Politburo sessions. Actually our standpoints are in harmony, or in a good number of cases they are completely identical. And this is good.

[Nyers] The tendency is identical; within the tendency we have an individual face.

[Jasso] Perhaps it could also be discerned from what we have said, that we also have an individual approach, but that it really comes from our having some common cause, perhaps....

[Horvath, interrupting] Well, I only say this because, as a newspaper reader and as a student, one has become used to the fact that one always heard only one opinion.

[Horvath] Tamas Nagy from Budapest asks: Why are foreign broadcasts jammed, even though we have signed the Helsinki Agreement on the free flow of ideas?

[Berecz] We are not jamming them. We have no energy and money with which to jam foreign broadcasts. Do we have to jam foreign broadcasts when even foreign television can be received on several channels?

[Horvath] So there is no jamming whatsoever?

[Berecz] No, we do not jam them. When channels overlap, this is a technical fault, but there is no jamming and there is no need for it. We have no need to spend energy on this. If we had energy for this, we would build [words indistinct].

[Horvath] Nandor Ujkigyosy from Budapest would like Mihaly Jasso to answer the following question. When a Hungarian enterprise becomes capitalist property, can there be a communist branch there? I have read that in the Csepel Clothing, Machinery, and Bicycle Factory, where U.S. capital holds a 51-percent share, there will not be a party branch in the future.

[Jasso] Let me answer first in general terms and then more specifically. There can be party branches in these cases. There are party branches in Italy as well. It is not the first criterion of capitalist ownership that the party branch should cease to exist. In regard to the Csepel question, I have also read this news item. We have asked the people in Csepel about this and they have sent their correction to the paper. Presumably it has not been published yet.

[Horvath] And what if the participation of U.S. capital becomes 100 percent?

[Jasso] Even then, Communists can go on working in that organization. Communists will not be banned either in mixed enterprises or in enterprises fully under capitalist ownership.

[Horvath] The next question is addressed to Janos Berecz. What is the explanation for the fact that the budget of the Workers' Guard was questioned recently by one of the trade unions? In your opinion, is there still a need for the Workers' Guard?

[Berecz] I do not agree with the word "still". I would like to approach this from two aspects. From one point of view, there are semimilitary organizations in many countries of the world which are maintained as the guardians of legality and to carry out certain internal tasks. From another point of view, when the Workers' Guard was founded, the workers' demand to have arms with which to defend themselves was justified. However, the Guard is not simply an armed force, it is a community very much worthy of respect, where workers, working peasants, and members of the intelligentsia, leading scientists, doctors, teachers and so on spend a good many hours together, partly on training and partly resolving social tasks; they enjoy this very much, and their families also get together. This is a community worthy of respect, which is one of the factors strengthening solidarity in our society. There is no need to be afraid of the Workers' Guard.

[Jasso] A great many of them are nonparty people.

[Horvath] The question, however, is related in part to the budget. Obviously, this is connected with the demand to reduce the military budget and other budgets.

[Berecz] Yes, we shall report on this to the National Assembly. There are reductions everywhere.

[Horvath] Well, since the question of money has come up, Istvan Ungar, telephone number 135-513, asks: Can we know what goods will go up in price next? After all, there is hardly a product about which it is not said that it is about to become more expensive. He asks Rezso Nyers: Is there a limit to how far inflation can be tolerated?

[Nyers] Yes, there is such a limit. The limit is the point where on the peripheries of society—using periphery in the financial sense—an impossible situation develops for wide strata. This is the political limit. Economically, the limit is where confidence in the currency, the propensity to save, decreases fundamentally. I would like to stress that we have not gone beyond either limit here in Hungary, and we must not do so. The party's policy must remain resolute in this respect in the future as well.

In regard to the price rises: The bases, the roots of inflation have not been eliminated in Hungary. These roots are still exerting an effect. To eliminate this simply by adminstrative means would be ineffective because it would emerge again. Thus, the present policy is to attack the roots in a programmatic manner, while permitting a limited inflation. Further price rises can be expected in the near future. According to estimates, during the whole of this year the rise in the price level will be 17 percent; next year, according to the forecasts by the experts, the rise in producer prices will be 9-10 percent. The inflationary pressure existing in society emerges here, in the producers' prices. Correspondingly, there will be a 13-14 percent rate of inflation; this is certain. It is also possible, however, that if there are changes in the rates of exchange, then inflation could even reach this year's level. It must not, however, get higher than that and I am convinced that it will not be higher.

[Horvath] What the question asks is how far can one dig into the pocket to make up the deficit in the state budget by taking away from the population.

[Nyers] Please, in 1989 the state will still dig into the pockets of the consumer, what I hope is that in 1990 it will not be necessary anymore. The state will dig less deeply into the pocket of the consumer next year than this year. This may be measured by the level of consumption. Consumption by the population so far in 1988 has declined by 3 percent, while real wages decreased by 8 percent. The 1989 plan has not been approved yet, but the decrease will be less severe.

[Horvath] A very strange thing happened here in the editorial department. A colleague said that he received a telephone call and was offered—or rather his paper was offered, as he was freelancing for us—the list of the 1989 price rises for 1 thousand forints.

[Nyers] I have also heard about it. Well, it is an interesting feature, an interesting symptom of this current openness. Such debates are still taking place presently in expert workshops. The party and the administration have not yet approved any specific price rises, none whatsoever. Thus what is happening is that experts are debating, and it is the proposals raised in these debates that are being spread, or variations of those.

[Berecz] I would not necessarily call this openness, but lack of discipline which has gained ground on the one hand, because those experts, after all, those experts who work in state institutes, should treat these things secretly until the decision. The decision will be open. On the other hand, this is dishonest because the door-to-door selling of this information, this spreading things now, does more to stir moods than if a normal, programmed plan for next year were presented.

[Jasso] This is a kind of opposition or oppositionism.

[Horvath] Is it not a bad feeling for you to have to stand in front of people and to say yes, it will still be bad?

[Nyers] Well, I think that it is really an unpleasant feeling—I think that it is an unpleasant feeling for everybody—but it is also an undertaking of responsibility. What can be done? Is there an alternative? It is always this question that we must ceaselessly put to ourselves when we decide. If there is a milder alternative which advances the future of the country, I would say that it is the transformation of the production structure as the great national cause, alongside a milder burden, because these burdens are borne by three big social groups—the state budget, the enterprise community, and the population. If a better proportion of burden-sharing exists, then we must find that better one. Today, too, the debate in the workshops of politics is about this, and I think that this debate must take place in public, too. In the future we shall have to start having public debates earlier.

[Horvath] These worries have occurred a good number of times in the past, let's say, 30-40 years.

[Jasso] I would like to refer back to an earlier question regarding the distrust and trust in the leadership now. Today, the leadership at every level—the party secretary of the basic organization, the general secretary, and not only party functionaries but everybody who undertakes a leadership role—must face the task of creating or nurturing support, sympathy, unity, and active identification while standing in in front of the people and saying unwelcome things. Thus, this leadership will become successful, practically speaking, if it obtains results; but in order to be successful it cannot be popular. Referring back to heritage: what is heritage? Well, part of our inheritance is that on the basis of a national popular concensus, we no longer have the means to supplement our domestic shortcomings with external financial means and create a relatively calm mood among the populace, so that there is then a popular consensus. [sentence as heard] This has run out, this is what we are paying for now.

[Horvath] So if I understand correctly, in these two spheres of production and consumption, or if you like, division, production has always been sacrificed on the altar of division, and not been organized. Or am I polarizing?

[Jasso] Well, you are not polarizing.

[Nyers) In my opinion it is not this which is the trouble. In this, my standpoint has a feature; in my opinion it is not overconsumption which has taken the country into this critical situation, but the incorrectness, the mistaken nature, of the whole mechanism of production, and the belief of the earlier leadership that this could be operated in a way that would bring in the national income. But this did not bring the national income.

[Horvath] It turned the tools to consumption and not to production.

[Nyers] Yes, but we did not consume; it did not turn too much to consumption, but neglected production if the truth be told. It did not neglect this in slogans, it was there in every resolution. It recognized politically that production must be put in order, and the old leadership recognized this too. It did not recognize with which tools this could be brought about. This is where the main mistake lies.

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] A significant part of the budget means a setback for enterprises.

[Nyers] And the country today has, I would say, a 40-billion forint crisis, and we must somehow apportion this 40-billion forints among the whole of society, for this is a burden on society. There is no government, no matter who is in charge, that is able to free itself of this 40-billion problem.

[Horvath] Excuse me, please elaborate. What is this 40 billion to which you refer, for it could be misunderstood? This is not the debt.

[Nyers] This is a problem appearing in the budget, but it has its debit side also, so there are connections. In the state budget, if we gave it free rein, if there were to be no such restrictions, there would be a 60-billion-forint deficit next year, and this year too. In contrast to this, there should not be more than 20 billion. We could still manage that. The difference is 40 billion. This must be divided up. If we say that we burden the state budget with the 40 billion, then this must be covered from foreign credit. If I say that the enterprise sphere should pay, then the profit must be taken from the enterprises, and the enterprises will be left in a situation in which their wealth is being reduced. If I say the population should pay, then I have dipped into the (?pockets) of the population. So this must somehow be shared between the three. This is the so-called income-policy side of politics, which, well, must be handled more democratically, except that we cannot escape from the problem.

[Berecz] I would go back now to dipping into pockets. This can only be handled as a temporary burden on consumption, for either a few years or for a decade. If there is no change in production with modernization, technical development, and increasing efficiency, then ultimately this will lead to a collapse, for consumption cannot be firmly held back for decades. We cannot make a living from that; we can only compensate for shortfalls.

[Horvath] But what you said about change and modernization—this, and not in the strict sense of the word, was really a slogan in 1968, 1973 and in every—excuse me for what I am about to say—change of course.

[Berecz] In my opinion, those economic tools which we used did not force the enterprises and did not make them interested enough in such a change.

[Nyers] The great lesson is that this cannot be solved merely with state control. Here the state can squeeze the enterprises financially, but if there is no incentive from competition, no effect compelling technical development and productivity exerted by the market, then this is lost. It remains only an incantation, despite the pressure from the state. So, the state appears very strong, but it is very weak in this mechanism.

[Jasso] It continues to operate the same production structure, and [word indistinct] compensates. Consumption is not just population consumption but also enterprise consumption.

[Horvath] A few more questions. Mihaly Jasso, will the numbers in party apparatuses be reduced, and will district party organizations be merged, if only for the reason that many offices are in apartments?

[Jasso] The total staff level of the Budapest party apparatus will probably decrease. We are currently assessing its task. We would like to operate this apparatus with a different structure. By the way, it is a good number of percentage points smaller than it was 10 years ago. The staff level of the party apparatus is.... [changes thought] We, the workers of the Budapest party committee, total 81. This number will probably decline. Well, I cannot predict the magnitude of the decrease, because the party committee will decide on it in December.

As for the question about mergers in the districts, we are not yet planning to reorganize the capital. The idea has been raised that instead of district party organizations, we can create regional ones, i.e,. a party organization dealing with the politics of a region—South Pest, Nort Pest. This representation of a joint policy could probably wash away the present tight, rigid district borders.

[Nyers] The excessive confinement [beszoritasa] of the party organization in the enterprises is also a problem, because....

[Jasso, interrupting] The operation of a party organization, as far as where it should work more actively, is another question—whether it is working actively at the enterprise, or whether, as has been suggested, it should come out of the enterprises. Neither I nor the body can agree with the suggestion that the party organization should leave the enterprises. Political activity must be strengthened, but the organization of production is not what the task should be—indeed, that must not be dealt with. However, the politics of public life must with all certainty be strengthened. This is what we call politics of the residential area [lakoteruleti politizalas'], but it is something else not merely confined to a residential area; it is the politics of public life. We are looking for a mode of this.

[Nyers] In other words, we should not think only in terms of the enterprise framework, because....

[Jasso, interrupting] ...The relationship between party membership is not going to be as rigid as it is now. This does not mean that a member belongs to one party or another, but that he registers at his plant or in his residential region—it does not matter where, as long as he registers in the party. For example, I work in both places. Where I live there is a term which I may have poorly interpreted—Comrade Berecz knows it, for we have used it in connection with a delegation—the term is a one-shift Communist. This refers to someone who is known to be a Communist at his workplace, but about whom no one knows if he is a Communist after work or not. The ideal would naturally be for a Communist to play a very active role in public life.

[Berecz] I would supplement this by saying that if we take the elections seriously—and we do—then we must also think in terms of constituencies in terms of National Assembly constituencies as well as local council election districts. It is politics, and we must win the elections.

[Horvath] Dr Gyula Madai at Debrecen 21517 asks: Prior to the May party conference, Janos Berecz announced on television that the staff level of the party apparatus would be significantly reduced. In August he stated, in contrast, that the reduction was not necessary, because the staff level of the apparatus was only 1 percent of the party membership. Why did he change his views?

[Berecz] Let me say that both attributions are correct. I am glad that attention is paid to what one says, and that statements are compared. The staff level of the party apparatus will decrease by 10 percent this year nationally; even 50; I say that this size is not big, for we have 5,700 positions, of which 5,572 are filled. If we take the 813,000 party members, then it is such a low number that it is not burdensome. This number of people is unquestionably needed to deal with affairs. There is only a problem when the apparatus is so large that it converts politics itself and the party member looking on into a passive observer of the whole political process.

[Horvath] Gabor Toth from Dunaujvaros 2514121 asks Mihaly Jasso: Where do you see a guarantee of successful reforms, for the majority of the middle managers have remained in the same positions and those who have been thinking one way for decades will not change their views overnight?

[Jasso] I would divide the question into two parts. First, is a man able to change his views if he is cultured, ordinary, and keeps abreast of current requirements? At least a decent leader is able to do so. Second, I do not know where the middle managers have become permanent. I know the situation in Budapest. Here, whenever we touch on cadre questions in all the districts of in the Budapest party committee, the first speaker generally starts by saying that we comrades must seek to achieve stability. Such was the extent of the change by leaders which characterized the capital's party movement. I do not know whether elsewhere, for instance, in Dunaujvaros, middle managers have been able to put down long roots.

[Horvath] Maria Dusai at 274-037 asks whether we can expect a neo-Stalinist turn similar to 1972-73 on the basis of remarks made in parliament and at the latest Central Committee session?

[Berecz] My conviction is that if somebody did put forward such a program in this party, he would be deemed to fail. This party is politically more mature; it can see things more clearly than to accept such a neo-Stalinist reversal. It would not at all support such a thing; it would also be able to prevent this, I am certain.

[Horvath] Is there such a danger; is it real?

[Berecz] All kinds of dangers exist. Comrade Nyers spoke earlier about the danger of moving toward anarchy. There are people who, in seeing such a danger, say that the border markers, the posts marking the limits, should now be erected along the lines; that there is no longer anywhere where we are not giving in, and that we should go out and fight with our fists. This is a similar danger, but it is also similarly mistaken.

[Nyers] I believe as well that support for Stalinism is being fostered inside the movement. However, there is no realistic danger that this could come to dominate the movement. I fully agree with that. Fanaticism—a fanatical view of the workers movement, the revolution, or socialism, or the party—is not a Marxist approach; it is dangerous, just as dogmatism is also very dangerous, although our movement cannot entirely free itself from this.

[Horvath] I do not want to stir up the past, but let us assume that we sat together like this in 1972 or 1973, the time to which this question relates. Had I asked you then, would the situation have been completely different then? Or were you more naive?

[Nyers] Well, yes, the situation was different. I was more naive; let us start with that. What is more, even now I am more naive than I will be in 2-3 years' time. This is also quite certain. However, the situation then was fundamentally different. Today this is a period of renewal within the international Communist movement. In 1972, at least here in Eastern Europe, we witnessed the return to earlier patterns by the international Communist movement. It was a cautious return in the direction of Stalinism. Well, this makes a tremendous difference.

[Berecz] It is called the period of stagnation in the Soviet Union.

[Horvath] Here is another question addressed to Mihaly Jasso: Unfortunately the purity of party life is not entirely what is should be. Why is the Budapest party committee not more active in being the first to take steps against functionaries who commit violations?

[Jasso] As soon as a specific question is raised, as soon as we learn about specific [word indistinct], we take action.

[Horvath] So far this is a generality.

[Jasso] What I can say is that we take action. Now, you will ask, against whom? Well, against those who engage in abuses, those who are immoral.

[Horvath] Many questions touched on the issue of privileges. How do you see this? Are there such privileges? I am talking here about leaders, not just party leaders, but leaders in general.

[Berecz] Well, what I would say is that we have not had privileges as a matter of principle. Conditions were improved for carrying out certain tasks compared to other, lower levels. There is, however, something called opportunity, and this can lead to immoral or illegal acts. Those must certainly be expelled from the party, and these opportunities must be reduced. This is a very interesting question. We have not yet discussed or thought about this, but it would be possible to set out the conditions of work in certain spheres.

[Horvath] Let us call them entitlements; this is less pejorative than privileges.

[Nyers] Privileges are something feudal. In that sense I say that they do not exist. But there are differences in civic life. I am thinking of rewards, entitlements. In this sphere there are differences which the average person might regard as privileges, because they are so far removed from him. But in fact these are not feudal privileges, because they are not automatic; they are not available without controls, and they only are available as long as someone holds a certain post.

[Berecz] The greatest problem is when someone abuses the possibilities, because this can give rise to privileges.

[Jasso] There are certainly such cases.

[Berecz] Action must be taken against them as soon as...

[Nyers, interrupting] There are many examples of relations developing between leaders and subordinates which actually remind one of aspects of feudalism.

[Horvath] Thank you for this conversation. The forum has an unwritten law that at the end the participants can have a last word. If you feel that anything still needs to be said, please go ahead.

[Berecz] I just want to say that Comrade Nyers and I have undertaken to reply to a few important questions which were left out, but which we believe need to be discussed, in the columns of NEPSZABADSAG.

[Horvath] And Comrade Jasso?

[Jasso] I shall do so in ESTI HIRLAP.

[Horvath] Well, about 1,380 or 1,500 questions still await an answer.

[Berecz] We shall deal with them in outline; it is not possible to answer them all. We cannot take up the whole of NEPSZABADSAG.

[Horvath] Thank you very much.

Marosan on 20 Oct Council of Ministers Meeting

LD2110224788 Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Thursday [20 October] evening, Gyorgy Marosan, spokesman of the Hungarian Government, informed journalists on the first point on the agenda of the October 20 session of the Council of Ministers, on Friday, he stated:

The Council of Ministers, alongside analyzing the financial and economic processes of 1988, and the conditions of the 1989 plan, discussed several other major themes. The government proposes the national assembly to regulate by law the issues related to the central technical development fund. He noted the government does not wish to pose an extra load on companies, but prefers to make payments to the central technical development fund standard and equally applicable to all sectors and organizations.

The new decree of the government set up conditions for abortions. Under-age mothers, women who do not have their own flats, or who are raising two children do not have to request permission for abortions from health boards as previously.

The government approved the report on the legal regulation of the right to strike. It decided that, following a social debate, it will submit the report to the december session of the national assemoly as part of the Labour Code.

In the interest of setting up the social control committee of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, the Government requested the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), the Federation of Writers, the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, the National Council of the Patriotic Front, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Association of Scientific and Technical Organizations (MTESZ), the Pal Vasarhelyi Society, and the Hungarian Environmental Protection Society, to delegate representatives to the committee, as well as the councils of the concerned three counties of Pest, Komarom and Gyor-Sopron.

Patriotic Front on Assembly, Association Rights

LD2110201088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] [First announcer] According to the national PPF Presidium, neither the law of assembly nor the law of association should depend on the state's prior permission. This is because they are both inalienable rights of citizens.

[Second announcer] The body has issued a stand summing up the social debate on the two laws. According to this, the PPF disapproves of the fact that the laws permit the prior prohibition of assemblies. Nor should the registration of social associations be refused if the founders have fulfilled the conditions laid down in the law, the document stresses.

As it was said in very many social debates, the extent of state intervention cannot be determined by uncertain legal concepts. Along with the general concepts such as state security, public security, and public order international agreements also exists a not unimportant phrase: It is in a democratic society that these can represent the limits of rights.

The PPF considers it unjustifiable that there is an intention to exempt from the rule of the law on association political organizations groups such as the party and trade unions. According to this stand, implementational legal rules should not be issued in connection with the law.

Finally, the PPF proposes that the draft laws, which also reflect social opinions, should be submitted to parliament. For this, however, the political bodies and the administration must again review the conceptual issues of the draft laws on the rights of association and assembly, stresses the national PPF Presidium.

Motion Picture Trade Union Urges Role in Reform

LD2410234188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 gMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] The chief objective of the independent Motion Picture Democratic Trade Union [MODESZ], which was formed at the beginning of the month, is to help cultural life to emerge from the crisis:

At a news conference given by MODESZ, which so far includes some 500 film and television workers, it was also said that art cannot be measured according to present-day political viewpoints. The democratic trade union takes a stand for the assertion, at all times, of creative freedom. The organization wishes to set up a self-help fund, which would create the possibility of providing unemployment benefits, and, if needed, also strike assistance. Funding for this would be provided partly by membership fees; on the other hand, they would like employers to pay a determined percentage of all fees from individual productions.

At the news conference it was highlighted that because the cultural sector does not have a role in the reform program, a general national decline would result instead of the long-awaited national resurgence [kibontakozas].

Imre Poszgay Meets Youth Leaders 24 Oct

LD2410172788 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—On Monday Minister of State Imre Pozsgay met in the Budapest parliament members of the committee in charge of preparing the foundation of the National Council of Hungarian Youth (MIOT). Imre Pozsgay was informed that to date more than 20 youth organizations, movements and self-managing groups had indicated the intention to join MIOT.

The members of the committee agree that MIOT should be an independent and democratic forum based on the equality of the participant organizations offering an opportunity for asserting and reconciling differing interests. MIOT is seeking membership in the national interest coordination council.

The issue of registering MIOT was touched upon, and the conditions of its operation were also reviewed along with the expedient of ensuring publicity for its activity.

Poszgay Meets Nationalities' Representatives

LD2410232288 Budapest MTI in English 2235 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—On Monday Minister of State Imre Pozsgay met the representatives of the nationalities living in Hungary, and the presidents and general secretaries of their federations that are preparing for their congresses. The talks were centered around the role of the minister of state in handling the issue of nationalities and the organizational conditions.

Participants agreed that the reform process must include the renewal of the nationality policy. They stated that from the point of views of the future and preserving the identity of nationalities the representation of the particular rights of nationalities living in Hungary and the internal renewal of their federations is pivotal. Emphasis was laid on the issues of the free relations of the nationalities to their mother nations.

Democratic Romanian Group Hold Session in Gyula

LD2110142888 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary held a session in Gyula Friday [21 October]. It discussed the draft documents to be submitted to the federation's 7th congress, the report summarizing the work of the last five years, and the proposal on amending the statutes.

Analyzing the possibilities of interest representation, participants proposed that the minority law under preparation ensures representation of minorities on all levels of state leadership. It was noted that the Romanians living in Hungary find it difficult to act as a bridge. The demand to create a separate professional section within the federation increased in the course of congress delegate nominating sessions. Young professionals were interested in the relation of the federation towards the Gypsies living in Hungary who speak Romanian and declare themselves to be Romanians. The federation believes that, following a thorough theoretical review, practical steps should be taken to create relations.

At the 7th congress to be held in Gyula, the 20,000 Romanians living in Hungary are to be represented by 90 delegates.

Agricultural Prices To Rise 12-13 Percent in 1989

LD2610115988 Budapest MTI in English 1050 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 26, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Following cuts in government subsidies and higher costs, agricultural producer prices will rise by between 12 and 13 per cent next year.

As a result, agricultural producers are expected to earn by 25 billion forints ($463 million) more next year. This was disclosed during a recent meeting of the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and Producers.

Prices that are centrally controlled are to rise by 17 per cent. Next year half of the produce will have certainly-fixed prices.

During the meeting representatives of the farming cooperatives and other producers expressed doubt on whether the about 13 per cent rise in producer prices would cover rising costs. Here are some examples of producer price changes for produce whose price is centrally controlled (next year's price, with this year's in brackets): 1st class wheat per ton: 4,350 forints [HuF] ($80.55), up 16.6 per cent (HuF 3,730, $69.07 in 1988). Second class wheat: HuF 4,150, up 13.7 per cent (HuF 3,650, $67.59 in 1988). Wheat for feed and barley for feed per ton: HuF 3,710 ($68.7), up 8.8 per cent (HuF 3,410, $63.15 in 1988). This year's data show that growing one ton of wheat costs an average of HuF 3,800 ($71). Wheat growing is profitable in Hungary only if the yield exceeds 5 tons per hectare. Wheat growing made a loss on 40 per cent of wheat fields. However, on the national average wheat growing is profitable, as the world market price is between $110 and 120 per ton.

The producer price of maize is to grow from 3,800 forints ($70.37) to 4,100 forints ($75.92), representing plus 7.9 per cent.

The price per kilo of slaughter cattle is to rise on average from 42.65 forints ($0.789) to 55.65 forints ($1.03), up 30.5 per cent. The subsidy of 7 forints per kilo will be discontinued. The price in live weight of slaughter pigs is to rise from 43.81 forints ($0.811) to 48.31 forints ($0.894) up 10.3 per cent.

It was also made public during the meeting that though a 9 per cent increase in crop production was forecast for this year, in fact a between 6 and 7 per cent rise can actually be expected.

Winter Energy Consumption Situation Assessed

LD2610142888 Budapest MTI in English
1330 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 26, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Energy restrictions are only expected in Hungary this winter as a last resort. Preliminary calculations of the Ministry of Industry show that total energy consumption will be 2 per cent lower than last year.

As a result of last year's mild winter, and the introduction of energy saving technologies, underground reservoirs currently have 250,000-300,000 cubic metres more natural gas than last year, totalling 1.4 billion cubic metres. There is 3-400,000 tons of fuel oil, and sufficient power plant coal (over a million tons), and stock of coal for the population.

In extremely cold weather, the first measure will be for domestic users of gas and electric current to shift to another kind of energy carrier if possible. The second measure will be for industrial companies to restrict their use of energy without causing technological damage. A last and final measure will be energy restriction for the population, schools and hospitals.

Ministers Meet, Speak on Economy 24 Oct

LD2710003388 Warsaw PAP in English
2334 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—As reported earlier, the Council of Ministers held a meeting here on October 24. Present were voivods and presidents of voivodship-level towns.

While addressing the meeting Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski recalled that the meeting was held after another political crisis. I am opposed to any kind of directing of such meetings. Speeches delivered during our debates should be maximally short, I suggest they should last 5 minutes. The point is we cannot tire out both Poland and ourselves with our talk.

I consider it necessary to say that the government led by Professor Messner had many achievements which cannot be ruled out. We are not starting from scratch. Criticism of the government and its actions was undoubtedly strengthened by price and income decisions taken last February and a general climate of ill-disposition to the authorities prevailing in a part of society. Let me add that if we do not make any efforts to change this climate it will be impossible to achieve goals facing Poland.

How to assess the present situation in Poland? One can be sure that there still exist political threats stemming from the state of social moods. One should not forget that causes of social discontent have not been removed yet. The assumption that the change of the government alone may create a source of more profound hopes would be a terrible mistake. The majority of society waits for concrete actions, namely, for such moves which will change this part of reality which is unbearable. The time in which we have to show that we can be trusted is very short. As a matter of fact we have not got any. The results of various actions we will take up may be seen after some time. And we cannot buy this time anywhere and for any money. Thus having no time one must do everything so that a conviction arises and consolidated in public opinion that we are moving forward, and that we will not limit ourselves to copying reality as it is.

After nine months growing tendencies in material production have been maintained. There is a possibility to exceed annual tasks in industrial production. The implementation of planned tasks in foreign trade is following a favourable course. A production growth faster than the use of basic raw and intermediate materials and energy indicates a possibility to improve the effectiveness of management still this year. Undoubtedly these are the positive sides of the economic situation. But this is only one side of the coin as there are unequivocally unfavourable phenomena. The most urgent task is to halt an inflation growth but it is not easy to achieve.

The task of boosting production remains the key task for today and tomorrow. Not at all costs of course but for the price of great effort and bold breaking with stereotypes which have prevailed for years. The Polish economy still has great reserves, above all in the sphere of material and raw material savings. I am appealing to voivods, but not only to them: Support every initiative which guarantees production growth.

I would like to say a few words about foreign capital. At present we are preparing amendments to the draft law tabled to the Sejm. I thought them necessary because one must create optimally advantageous conditions for foreign capital. I travelled to Poznan for the congress of representatives of Polonian companies (Polonian economic forum—ed.) not for applause but with the sole purpose of encouraging the assembly to boost their presence in Poland.

Polonian companies are unequally distributed (throughout Poland), in part because there are voivodships in which they are still considered some kind of ulcer on the body of socialism. Their presence is being curtailed in the name of ideological purity. I hope you do not suspect me of being a man who does not appreciate ideology but no one has fed himself and filled shop shelves with ideology alone. The road for foreign capital can and should be opened for everyone who wants to invest in what Poland's economy needs, who is ready to produce and not turn a quick profit.

What should be done to increase production? Above all, an implementation of economic reform with conviction. We must tear at reality with our own hands. There is no other way out. We must squeeze out all the possible, existing reserves from the Polish economic organism. This will be realistic provided that there is a departure from habits copied for years. This requires courage.

We are facing an urgent task of decreasing employment in ministries, voivodship offices, in various institutions, social organizations and the like. We must rationalize employment and create a labour market. Another important problem is an effective struggle against bureaucracy.

In the last fragment of my address I want to reply to such questions as why economic reform creates layers of pessimism instead of optimism. Is this taking place chiefly because prices are growing, that lack of commodities hurts, that here and there a plant or department is standing idle for lack of raw materials? These are not the only reasons. I think that the main reason is that people do not see any meaningful changes in everyday life which covers significiantly more matters than prices and wages. In my opinion, society associated and associates with economic reform a change in the way and methods of our wielding of power. At issue are first and foremost simple and logical laws, resolutions and decrees, wise and comprehensible for every citizen.

Possibilities to raise living standards in the near future are minimal. If such is the case what can we do to win societys confidence? Delivering one or another speech? They have a limited scope. We know this.

In my opinion a citizen is fed up with this talking that we are democratizing, consolidating, decentralizing, harmonizing, self-governing, halting, making decisions, controlling, introducing, combating bureaucracy, solving in a complex way—look at our language. A citizen says to himself: I have heard it hundreds of times—they are constantly saying that we are developing and democratizing but there is either nothing or very little changing around. So it goes in one ear and out the other.

Exercising power means an acceptance of the principle that everybody does what one must. I believe that it is necessary to break up the conviction deep-rooted in Polish society that all decisions are taken in a party committee.

I am saying this in the interest of socialism, in the interest of the party and in the interest of allied forces. I do not have any intention to anatagonize forces functioning in the authority system. The point is to know that, for instance, if Comrade Jaruzelski said that the party would not offer an insurance for the government then such a right thesis should be implanted in all links of the authority.

I believe that the economic reform is losing not only because its assumptions are improper, but because it is treated as another task and not as a historically justified necessity to reconstruct social consciousness. Whose consciousness must be reconstructed first? Above all, of this part of society who exercises power?

Next, the chairman of the Council of Voivods, the Olsztyn Voivod, Sergiusz Rubczewski, briefed the prime minister on the to-date work and future tasks of this opinion-making and advisory body.

The head of the Ministry of Finance, Andrzej Wroblewski, briefed the meeting on the financial situation of the state and the works of the ministry. As a result of arrangements between the premier and the Sejm presidium, an address was tabled to the Sejm on postponing the date of tabling the draft budget of the state for next year.

The minister announced that it is estimated that the deficit of the central budget will total—in line with the budget law—200 billion zloties while local budget will post a surplus of 200 billion zloties. We are facing another increase in the procurement prices for farm produce and the burden for the central budget which this entails. As concerns the money income situation, it is worse than was envisaged in the plan, the minister said. While in the plan we estimated the difference in demand over goods and services supply at 500-600 billion zloties, today estimates taking account of wages increases till the end of this year put it at 1.5 trillion zloties. If one were to maintain the current growth rate of prices and remunerations next year, the deficit of the state budget would total 1.6 trillion zloties.

In the tax sphere the Ministry of Finance intends to unify taxes for all eocnomic subjects. Central subsidies will also be limited. Work on the law on municipal property will be accelerated, the finance minister stated.

Minister of Culture Aleksander Krawczuk expressed an opinion that the achievements of the country in many fields were improperly presented in the mass media-passed over in silence or carried with an inadequate, at times malicious, commentary.

Malinowski on European Cooperation at Sejm Meeting

LD2710144488 Warsaw PAP in English
1357 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski told the Sejm (parliament) Presidium and its Council of Seniors here today about preparations for the creation of a Council of Parliamentary Cooperation as a joint organization of the parliaments of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Proposal to set up such a council was put forward by the Sejm two years ago. The texts of the drafts of the appropriate documents were agreed upon two weeks ago at a consultation meeting of representatives of the parliaments of fraternal states. It was also decided that the secretariat will be based in Warsaw.

The Sejm Presidium and the Council of Seniors acquainted themselves with a report on preparations for the conference of the chairmen of the parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada which, on the Sejm's initiative, is to be held in Warsaw between November 26th and 28th. The Polish initiative was favourably received.

The main topics of this important meeting, which have already been agreed upon, will concern the parliaments of Europe, including the development of interparliamentary relations between the East and West.

The concept behind the conference is to look into the future of Europe as a whole—starting from the strengthening of the common European heritage and respect for differences and distinct features. The Sejm's invitations were accepted by parliaments of 35 countries and 4 international organizations. The participants also discussed issues connected with the Sejm's work in the nearest future.

Roman Malinowski told PAP and Polish Television that: "In the establishment of the Council of Interparliamentary Cooperation we jointly place great hopes connected with the deepening of cooperation between the socialist countries. In the exchange of experiences between them the Council could play a positive role, just as in multilateral and bilateral cooperation.

"The Council is of a voluntary, open character and in no way infringes the constitutional sovereignty of the individual parliaments. By establishing it we will also create an institutional body for cooperation with similar organizations in Western Europe like the west-European Parliament or the European Council, which will also favour European cooperation in all fields, including cooperation between the CMEA and the EEC," Malinowski said.

OPZZ 'Surprised' to Learn of Pre-Roundtable

LD2610201788 Warsaw PAP in English
1848 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—In connection with a statement by Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban made at a press conference here on October 25, the Polish press agency PAP has received a statement by Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Romuald Sosnowski who has been appointed to lead the group of trade unionists nominated by the OPZZ to attend the "round table" meeting.

We were surprised to learn that somehow a precondition for starting the "rounds table" talks on October 28 was a preparatory meeting on October 26 to which representatives of trade unions have not been invited. Ignoring the representation of the 7-million-strong trade union movement in such an important matter does not serve well social agreement. The OPZZ and the entire trade union movement are an independent, separate force in the Polish social reality.

We consider it a "misunderstanding" to be "attached" to any group of participants in the "round table" talks.

Omitting us from preparatory talks and taking initial decisions without our participation undermine the very essence of the "round table". The OPZZ repeatedly declared its readiness for the "round table" meeting. We cannot, however, be taken by surprise by decisions creating new conditions, ones unfamiliar to us, overnight. What more, we are of the opinion that all independent public forces invited to take part in the debates are equally interested in the preparatory work.

Kuron on Delay, Participation, Goals of Talks

AU2710104788 Vienna KURIER in German
26 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with civil rights activist Jacek Kuron, "one of Lech Walesa's advisers," by M.P. Aureliusz: "Kuron: No Reform Without Solidarity"; date and place not given]

[Text] The "roundtable" talks between Poland's Government and the banned Solidarity trade union in Warsaw have been postponed again: After they had first been postponed from 17 October to today, Wednesday, because some church representatives were still in Rome, the negotiations are now scheduled to start on Friday [28 October]. The government is trying to exclude some of Walesa's advisers from the talks. One of them, civil rights activist Jacek Kuron, commented on this in an interview with KURIER.

KURIER: Was the absence of the bishops the true reason for the postponement?

Kuron: Unfortunately, I cannot answer this question. In addition, I do not think that it would be useful just now to impute evil intentions to the other side.

KURIER: Will you be participating in the talks?

Kuron: The government does not seem to like my participation because the government only wants those people who recognize the Polish Constitution. We are all to proceed from the basis of the Constitution—that Constitution that says that the power belongs to society. This is exactly what I have been struggling for for 30 years and this is the reason why I spent 10 years in prison. Perhaps the Government should first promise that the Government itself will observe the Constitution.

KURIER: Who will be representing Solidarity in the talks?

Kuron: We have tried to make the delegation representative. In Gdansk 91 leading Solidarity functionaries and outstanding Polish intellectuals agreed that the mandate will go to Lech Walesa. The representatives of the August strike committee will also be present—as the core of the delegation. In addition, it is planned to send representatives of the various circles within Solidarity.

KURIER: What do you consider most important in the forthcoming talks?

Kuron: The delegation is authorized to discuss the relegalization of Solidarity. This authority was given to it by the strikers, by the mushrooming Solidarity organization committees, by various associations and groups. In addition, there is a signature campaign all over the country, in which the people express their support for Walesa and demand the legalization of Solidarity. Only the legalization of Solidarity and of the other trade unions—that is, what we call pluralism—will establish the preconditions for the reforms that are urgently needed in our country.

KURIER: The terms negotiations and compromise mean that both sides have to make concessions. What concessions is Solidarity prepared to make?

Kuron: A certain social renunciation is necessary in order to reconstruct the ruined country. However, society has to agree to this. An agreement with the authentic representatives of society is necessary. But this cannot be achieved "at the roundtable."

KURIER: What cannot be renounced?

Kuron: We must not, in any case, withdraw from the struggle for the process of profound political and economic changes. The success of these talks depends on the legitimization of Solidarity.

Document Asking Solidarity Legalization Cited

AU2610154788 Paris AFP in English
1521 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 26 (AFP)—Members of Poland's Communist Party have called for the legalization of the banned Solidarity trade union, in a document made available to Agence France-Presse here Wednesday.

The party militants, whose number was not immediately known, urged a political democratization of the country and the creation of social pluralism.

The often delayed opening of round table talks between the government and the opposition, including Solidarity representatives, was "an objective necessity," the paper said.

If the talks fail to materialize, Poland will face angry workers who "feel the government has taken them for a ride," it added.

Political Club Supports Solidarity, Free Market

AU2510162788 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI
in Polish 16 Oct 88 p 2

["Declaration" issued by the Main Board of the "Dziekania" Political Thought Club]

[Text] After being in existence for 4 years, the "Dziekania" Political Thought Club has become a legal institution with a place in political life. It brings together a whole series of groups and independent individuals. "Dziekania" wants to become a clear center for the Polish political opposition.

1. The present political and economic system condemns the Polish state to a condition of permanent crisis and blocks social development. The basic goal that genuine reform forces should pursue in their activities is the creation of a democratic state, a state that is an efficient instrument for realizing Poles' common interests and ensuring that Poles have the right to a life in which there is truth, freedom, and sufficiency. Only this kind of sovereign state will create the framework for the unimpeded development of a pluralist, civic society.

2. The "Dziekania" Political Thought Club supports the activities of Lech Walesa aimed at bringing about the legalization of the independent and self-governing "Solidarity" Trade Union. In today's Poland, trade union pluralism is part of a much broader form of pluralism that covers all areas of public life. Without the opportunity to form social, economic, and political clubs and associations that are independent of the authorities—which is something that is an expression of a civic sense of responsibility for the functioning of the state—without political pluralism, it will not be possible to prevent the state from gradually drifting toward collapse.

3. A political order that is based on the principles of joint participation and joint responsibility should be founded on autonomous and credible regional self-government and cover the entire system of representative bodies, including the highest one, the Sejm. The club bases its political activity on the following principles: civic sovereignty as the cornerstone of society's organization, evolutionary change as a method of political activity, the market economy as a means of improving the material existence of the Poles, and finally, the state viewed as the common good of free citizens. We believe in combining the struggle for legitimate civil rights with a sense of responsibility for the family, the society, the people, and the state. In accordance with Christian ethics, we see politics as a duty and a responsibility.

4. The Poles' desire to change the state coincides with a favorable international situation. Poland's state interests dictate that relations with the USSR and other states should be shifted from an ideological plane to one of interests that are mutually advantageous and mutually agreed upon. This model of relations is a prerequisite for overcoming the division of Europe.

5. A readiness to take part in the government of the state at some point in the foreseeable future should be one of the consequences of joint discussion on the condition of the state. This is a duty that applies to all the political forces in Poland that place the common good above particularist group interests.

The "Dziekania" Political Thought Club wants to work for the common good, that is, the future of Poland.

The Main Board of the "Dziekania" Political Thought Club.

4 October, Warsaw.

Solidarity's Rehabilitation Opposed

PM2510110188 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish
12 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Andrzej Pierscinski commentary: "Concerning the 'Polish syndrome']

[Text] The recent wave of strikes and unrest brought back onto the Polish political scene the question of reactivating Solidarity—a question which for several years had remained "relatively dormant." Many opposition activists agree that this problem is treated as a fundamental measure of the credibility accorded to the authorities and the basic precondition for the country's emergence from the crisis. Thus we are faced with new components in the situation. On the one hand the leading activists of the opposition camp (that is, if we can talk about one camp in the first place) are attempting to vindicate their reasons for legalizing Solidarity by way of agitational propaganda carried in a series of declarations, articles, and interviews, and although they begin from different standpoints, nonetheless they all share the same determination to prove their point. On the other hand, dozens of enterprises and institutions have been realizing the so-called policy of faits accomplis, that is, practical reinstatement of enterprise Solidarity circles and creation of interenterprise Solidarity structures. At the same time it is difficult to resist the impression that this carefully conceived and prepared offensive is being carried out with the hope and calculation of some immediate gains in securing the best "bridgehead positions" before the roundtable meeting, and also with a long-term objective which assumes a radical change of the system of political forces in Poland.

Nor is there the slightest doubt that this whetting of appetites and radicalization of the opposition's aspirations has been largely influenced not only by the increased tension in the country but also, and more significantly, by Lech Walesa's return to official circulation and the important turn in the authorities' philosophy of dealing with the opposition, in which they adopt an accelerated course toward reforms in the state.

Unfortunately, along with the demands to legalize Solidarity, memories of the recent past have been flooding back to Polish workplaces and Polish homes: memories of the time when the organization in question enjoyed a power to operate that was guaranteed by the law. In conversations and discussions, people inevitably return to the painful and bitter memories of chaos and anarchy, ruthless fighting against the authorities, endless strikes, and empty stores; in other words, to pictures of a wretched, dismal life which, when all was said and done, brought discredit to Poland and Poles in the eyes of the modern world. On the other hand, however, it would be a mistake to ignore the voices of those who perceive significant advantages in Solidarity's ideas: advantages associated mainly with the possibility of improving the work of the government, achieving a more efficient economy, and monitoring politicians' activities.

Opposition circles suggest that the majority of the population wants to go back to those days and enthusiastically endorses the demand to reactivate Solidarity. Is this really true? That demand, maintains Dr Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS], in a POLITYKA article, is today the most controversial issue of all. Toward the end of August the prevailing opinion was that it was unrealistic (47 percent) and unjustified (43 percent). Almost every fourth person confronted with that question selected the answer "It is hard to say." At the same time, every third adult Pole has expressed anxiety in connection with the question of reactivating Solidarity. One-third of the adult population is afraid of the deterioration of the political situation in the country, anarchy, strikes, social tension, and unrest—as in the years 1980-81.

Here is what the CBOS director had to say next: "As recently as last spring there was still no question of Solidarity being reinstated: The union, along with its chairman, had already been relegated to an appropriate place in history. Had it not been for the economic situation, the political situation would have been very different."

And that's just it! For the umpteenth time we have found that the key to resolving "the Polish syndrome" lies in the safe which is labeled "Economy." With their sound information on the temperature of the public mood—which has been getting increasingly radical owing to the economic factor—Solidarity activists are now striking while the iron is hot and hurriedly making up for their losses over the past several years. They are forcing the idea of legalizing their organization as—in their opinion—a fundamental precondition for making possible any improvement of the situation in the state and the economy. A section of the public listens to them because it would listen to anyone coming out with promises of a better life. Others listen because they cherish the ideas propounded by Solidarity and remain loyal to them. Still others listen because they are simply frustrated and hostile toward all the actions undertaken by the authorities. All of them want to live in peace, in a better Poland, in their own homes for which they do not have to wait too long; they want to drive reasonable cars, earn good money, and be able to buy quality goods with a strong zloty. In other words, they want to live a normal life; and the authorities in their turn are trying to present society with a vision of just such normal life in a normal, but socialist, Poland. The trouble is that this vision cannot be realized without the public endorsing it, nor without the opposition circles in society cooperating in its realization. This is the basic, fundamental question which—if necessary—should be argued about, and into which all kinds of complementary issues should be woven, including that of trade union pluralism. But it must not be arbitrarily replaced with a substitute issue, and the question of legalizing Solidarity is undoubtedly just that in our situation today.

On the other hand, the debate on Solidarity should first and foremost bring us answers to the pivotal question: Why did that admittedly bold, even revolutionary experiment which Solidarity represented end so soon in failure which—to make matters worse—brought the state and the entire nation to the brink of the abyss? This is how the popular opposition activist and publicist Karol Modzelewski formulates his view on this question in the latest issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: "Two groups of largely interlinked factors played a prominent part in determining it: The external situation of the Brezhnev era, unfavorable to all reform, and the incompatibility of the system of exercising power with the wide range of freedoms and the strength of the independent trade union movement."

While we can agree with K. Modzelewski that the present international situation as well as the scale and the nature of the reform process that has been initiated in Poland are more favorable than ever for the creation of democratic mechanisms which make it possible to resolve social tension and conflict without hostile confrontation, it is to be doubted whether the path he himself proposes—that is, legalization of Solidarity—can bring about these universally desired results. Such skepticism stems directly from a subsequent warning issued by the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY publicist, which goes as follows: "It will not be possible to reach and maintain any compromise without first drawing elementary conclusions from past experience; the partners must show equal respect for realities." Hear, hear! Presumably, then, it was for the sake of respect for realities and conclusions drawn from an analysis of the recent past that in his diagnosis Karol Modzelewski "forgot" the third fundamental factor of Solidarity's failure: the extreme group within his own camp, propelling it toward a policy of confrontation, disregard for the constitutional principles of the state system, holding the authorities at knife point, and going back on the agreed pacts and covenants. He forgot that Solidarity was annihilated not so much by ZOMO [Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia] squads or fossilized power structures as by its own sins: the arrogance stemming from the sense of tremendous strength that was underpinned by social discontent, the lack of realism in assessing the existing situation, and the absence of the skills necessary to operate in conditions of socialism. Has Solidarity perfected these skills yet? Unfortunately, there are many indications that it has not. To convince yourself of this you only need to analyze some of the texts which proclaim the program of former Solidarity activists, listen to what they are saying via Western radio stations, read what they have been writing in papers and leaflets, and, finally, you only need to look at the content and the nature of the organized activity that their rank and file activists are currently carrying out in many workplaces.

In an interview given to the Western press, Jacek Kuron states openly that the reinstatement of Solidarity's legal status would be, in his opinion, the beginning of the end of socialist rule. He is not isolated in his beliefs: He is accompanied by a whole chorus of his colleagues from the ranks of "advisers," "experts," and "activists" who are enthusiastically resuscitating all the old ideas, programs, and recipes. Here are just a few of those: to move the party out of enterprises; to confine it within "committees;" to leave just three sectors—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Army, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—for the "party people" to run; to separate politics from the economy; to keep work forces in strike readiness; to set up regional structures, and so forth. The old, disgraced rhetoric is currently making a rapid comeback, along with the slogans, the symbols, and the methods of operation. Together with these, in turn, there comes the danger of an open struggle for the system and for socialism in Poland, and misgivings about the success of the already initiated cause of the reform.

Is it not for that struggle for power—which many Solidarity activists are today again determined not to relinquish—that the "backup facilities" in the form of an organized political movement under the old name of Solidarity are now needed? Is that really the way in which a reparation of the republic could be carried out? What proof and what guarantee is there that the extremist tendency within Solidarity—which in the past dominated its whole activity so completely and so destructively—would disappear forever from that union—a union which, when all is said and done, had never really been a true union but represented some kind of hybrid that combined unionist and political activity in a way unparalleled anywhere else in the world? And, given this situation, can we not sympathize with the position of the authorities who today are being charged with lack of credibility and with opportunism and who will be condemned tomorrow for their irresponsibility and inability to look ahead? For, in the event of the lesson of 1980-1981 being repeated again today, who else would take upon themselves the responsibility for its political, social, economic, and also international consequences?

Does all this mean that Solidarity's achievements should be viewed in an exclusively negative light and the people who once created it, or even ran it, should be condemned, isolated, and prevented from speaking out? Certainly not. And this conviction stems from at least three sources.

First, we must never forget the roots from which Solidarity sprang, embodying the hopes and the aspirations of a significant proportion of the working people. That protest and those aspirations were, after all, connected with a manifestation of people's will to repair socialism, not to destroy it.

Second, many Solidarity activists and members have been taking an active part in shaping our contemporary Polish reality. They have proved to be realists. They have kept their different views, but since they have opted for the constructive approach in what they actually do, they can and should find a stable position for themselves in the state mechanism, in its legislative, executive, or advisory structures. Some leading Solidarity activists have already become partners in the accord, constituting one of the parties to sit at the roundtable whose objective is to find a shared platform that would make it possible to mend the state of Polish affairs.

In the third and final place, a considerable proportion of the ideas and programmatic principles professed by Solidarity has entered the canon of the reforms that we have been introducing in Poland in the past few years.

They constitute a lasting and valuable component of those reforms, and there is every chance that they will be developed further and enriched in the course of the roundtable debates.

The Solidarity question must today be viewed calmly, without willful obduracy, in the context of the wide-ranging transformations that are taking place in our country and in the whole socialist camp. We must not view it in isolation from the existing realities, both international and domestic, the latter including, particularly, trade union issues. After all, it is hard to ignore the fact that today 6 million Polish trade unionists have their own strong and independent representation, capable of effectiyely bringing in a recommendation for the government's resignation and presenting their own bold and innovatory viewpoint on the question of pluralism and the model of trade union movement. Although we cannot prejudge anything in ultimate terms today, it seems that the question of the trade union movement's future should be left to the unionists themselves—and to the work forces which should decide with what type of union they would be happiest. We should remain content with recalling and following Modzelewski's appeal: to respect realities and draw conclusions from past experience. At the same time we must not forget the Heraclitean warning: You cannot step twice into the same river.

Glemp's Activities Upon Return From Rome

Speaks on Roundtable

LD2010213388 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—The primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, has returned from Rome today where he took part in the observances of the 10th anniversary of Pope John Paul 2's papacy.

At Warsaw's "Okecie" airport journalists asked the primate, among other things, whether the subject of the "round table" appeared in the Polish episcopate delegation's talks with the pope.

In reply the cardinal said that the delegation, which is still in Rome, is currently conducting talks with Pope John Paul 2 and that undoubtedly this subject, as a very important one, will receive attention.

The Italian press also describes the "round table" as a chance, as a possibility for agreement.

In reply to a question what must be done to overcome the division of society in Poland the primate said that a prescription for this does not exist. The existing division has lasted for some time. It is not a tragic division, he said. "Possibilities of rapprochement exist and we want to shape conditions favouring this," he added.

Primate Glemp was also asked to comment on the attack by the Paris "KULTURA" on the policy of reconciliation professed by him. "I do not know how many attacks of this type have already been made. Therefore I will not opine on them," Glemp replied.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD2710004788 Warsaw PAP in English
238 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Gniezno, Oct. 26—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski today visited the Gniezno region - the cradle of Poland, where he held many talks, including face-to-face talks with Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The visit to Gniezno and the region lasted several hours.

Wojciech Jaruzelski travelled to Lake Lednickie in the middle of which is an island, laden with legends throughout the Slavic world, which was the first centre of the state of the Piast dynasty. The director of the museum of the first piasts in Lednica briefed Wojciech Jaruzelski and the remaining guests, among them Vice President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski, on the site's history.

Jaruzelskis next stop was the Wielkopolska Ethnographic Park in Dziekanowice. The president of the Council of State inquired how the artifacts of former culture were restored and whether they were being used to a sufficient extent for education purposes. "This is because what I have seen and learned here is extremely interesting, worthy of popularizing especially among young people," Jaruzelski said.

Afterwards Jaruzelski returned to Gniezno where he first visited a school built as a monument to the millennium of the Polish state and a secondary school named after King Boleslaw Chrobry situated in the school complex. Young people immediately surrounded the president of the Council of State and direct, spontaneous talks followed.

In the museum of the origins of the Polish state, Wojciech Jaruzelski acquainted himself with an exhibition on the origins of the Polish state. The president of the Council of State and his entourage also saw an exhibition of icons from the Piast era featuring a painting collection and a exhibition prepared on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Polands independence.

The Gniezno cathedral is one of the most valuable historical monuments of Polish art associated with the beginnings of the Polish state. Polands primate, Metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw Cardinal Jozef Glemp invited the president of the Council of State and his entourage to visit the cathedral. The visit lasted over an hour and stirred the kindly interest of the faithful gathered in the temple.

Primate Jozef Glemp spoke about the restored silver sarcophagus of St. Adalbert which was destroyed two years ago by robbers. In the presbytery, the president of the Council of State marvelled for a longer while at the gothic wall-paintings uncovered recently during renovations works. The president of the Council of State took great interest in the world-famous Gniezno doors made about 1170.

The stay at the cathedral also included a visit to the library. The president of the Council of State had a look at the codex aureus from about 1080 and the Kruszwicki prayer book. Jaruzelski entered the following words into the visitors book: "It is with emotion and deep respect that I visited this wonderful monument of our countrys history of culture."

In the cathedrals underground, Jaruzelski acquainted himself with excavation work and the discoveries of recent years. Finally, the president of the Council of State along with Kazimierz Barcikowski and the hosts of the voivodship visited the cathedrals treasury.

Following the visit to the cathedral, Polands primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp and Bishops Jan Czerniak, Jerzy Dabrowski and Bogdan Wojtus invited Wojciech Jaruzelksi and the officials accompanying him to the seat of Gniezno and Warsaw archbishops, the primatial palace where a meeting was held in an expanded composition. Jozef Glemp and Wojciech Jaruzelski next met face to face.

The president of the Council of State devoted several hours of his stay in Gniezno to getting acquainted with the living conditions of its residents. He visited the Winogrady housing district. The arrival of Jaruzelski and the remaining guests aroused an understandable sensation. During a discussion with a shop assistant, Wojciech Jaruzelski asked about supplies and whether the clients were happy. Jaruzelski spent nearly half an hour in another big store. He also visited one of Gnieznos leading factories, the "Polanex" clothing works.

NOVOSTI Interview Reported

AU2510192688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Oct 88 p 6

[PAP report: "The Polish Primate's Interview for NOVOSTI"]

[Text] Jozef, Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, gave an interview to the Soviet NOVOSTI agency. Asked what role the Roman Catholic Church in Poland can play in healing the country's present situation, he replied that the Roman Catholic Church considers itself an integral part of the Polish nation, and therefore it wishes to help the fatherland in difficult times. Difficulties can be either economic or social. The church senses them, and wishes to alleviate them in its own way. This way is mainly prayer, which permits a certain distance from occurring issues, and enables one to perceive them calmly. The church possesses great experience gained under various social systems, for it has been with mankind for 2,000 years, and can therefore pass on its teachings and outlook. I think this is valuable to society, said the primate.

In reply to the question what the meeting between the primate and premier was like, and whether the church would take an active part in affairs of state, J. Glemp said that the new premier is tackling the new tasks with seriousness. And because we know that the situation is not easy, we cannot make things difficult for the new premier, whatever our feelings are. Instead, we must create conditions for the country to progress. The church is not taking a direct part in state politics, but lay Catholics may involve themselves in it if they feel qualified to do so.

Asked about the hopes which the church pins on the "roundtable," the primate said that the whole society pins hopes on the "roundtable," and so does the church. This is a great chance for the future. Our insistence on pluralism at the "roundtable" is already showing the first signs of reality. People with various views can exchange opinions and establish a plan of action. And this, said the primate, is very important. A better future may come of it. The greater the number of open-minded people who love their country and assume responsibility for the fortunes of the state, the broader the cooperation ought to be.

What is the essence of the new documents on church-state relations that are currently being prepared, was the next question. These documents, said the primate, are meant to confirm what has already been achieved. Many points on the relations between the state and the church have been settled. The Roman Catholic Church has its own position. And because the Catholic Church involves a link with the Holy See, some of the documents will deal with church affairs within the state, and others will deal with Catholic affairs at an international level. This is where a document concluded by the PPR and the Vatican is needed. This work is already quite far advanced, and may bring a successful development to the state and to the church.

New Ministers State Hopes, Plans

AU1910175888 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Oct 88 p 2

[Statements by new government ministers to ZYCIE WARSZAWY's reporter Maria Dunin-Wasowicz: "ZYCIE WARSZAWY Was Told"—date and place not given]

[Text] Kaziemierz Olesiak, vice premier: I am convinced that Polish agriculture is capable of producing far more than it has until now. There could be a Polish Gouda in our shops and a whole range of other foodstuffs. Although I admit that I did not expect that I would be translating these statements into practice.

Agriculture must be given support. Above all, it must receive support from industries that supply it with production inputs, modern chemicals, and technology. We must also support the food industry, which is unable to process what agriculture produces. We have known about and been aware of these problems for years. We also have not been implementing what is contained in the political resolutions adopted jointly by the PZPR and the ZSL, as well as by the Sejm for years.

What I say is that agriculture would be more productive if we were just to implement what has been already been adopted, although it should also be remembered that there are no miracles. Even in cases in which farmers have excellent equipment and production inputs that are new to the Polish farmer, the weather always has an impact on the final results of their work. We can consider the last few years to be quite good in this respect. Let us hope that we will not experience worse years.

It is right that people want the shelves in our shops to be full of Polish foodstuffs. However, it is also right that the farmer wants his work to be profitable. Today we have a trade surplus with respect to exports of agricultural produce. However, if we do not solve the problem of disparities, then we will find that we have a negative trade balance, as was once the case. In underdeveloped areas today there is a shortage of people who are willing to take over land and farm it. This process has to be reversed. We must and will create increasingly better conditions for higher output and material progress in the countryside for all those people who want to work well on the land.

Janusz Patorski, vice premier: Last Saturday, I found out that I had been invited to visit the premier on Sunday at one o'clock. I could guess what we were going to talk about. I immediately said "yes" to his suggestion. Perhaps this might sound rather presumptuous, but I wanted to put myself and my ideas to the test. I had been working on these ideas with friends in Warsaw for a number of years.

The basic principle behind these concepts is investing in people. The employee must, at all costs, be provided with conditions that will permit him to realize himself, as it is so touchingly put. We must also finally give an opportunity to professionalism in management. Of course, this is linked to the establishment of a system that will provide top people with security. It is easy to place obstacles in their way or to bring them down. This has been possible too often in the past. Without such a system, there can be no talk of building an enterprising society. There can also be no dreams of introducing more radical reforms. More radical reform cannot be a slogan. It must be synonymous with, among other things, genuine enterprise self-management, and with enterprises that are run by trained managers. These managers will know that one has to deal with the question of bankruptcy. Of course, the fiscal system must change—I am thinking of taxation laws, above all—for it to be possible to operate normally.

We are just going to begin to discuss the form that the Council of Ministers Economics Committee will take, a body that should serve to bring to light the logical and coherent solutions that enterprises have been calling for for a long time now.

There is one more key issue. I am going over from the political camp to the economic one, and I realize that it is high time to ask questions about the role of the party to which I belong. One thing is certain: The party must eradicate the command system, it must stop treating the economy—this happens quite often—as a large enterprise.

I do not conceal the fact that I think I am successful. I hope that the principle of foreseeing and solving conflicts, and not avoiding them, will make it possible for the government to deal with the situation that it is faced with.

Jacek Fisiak, minister of national education: It really did come as a surprise. Actually, last Friday I was sitting around with my suitcases packed, because I was intending to go to Vienna, where I had been invited for some lectures. However, that was not to be...

The government that I will be part of has only 1 year. That is very little. Even new companies are given more time to prove themselves. So, I do not know whether I will have enough time to realize at least part of my plans. In any case, I want to continue the work of my predecessors, but, at the same time, I want to put forward my own ideas.

People often have a poor opinion of the education system. There is a lot truth in some of these opinions, and that is why there is a long list of things that have to be sorted out before we can say that we are functioning normally.

Society is calling for reforms, and that is justified, but I think, for example, that where the state has a duty to provide a basic education, then this duty should be left to the state. So, I do not think that it is possible to talk about privatizing basic schooling. The situation with respect to secondary schools is different. I would permit schools to exist outside the state system on an experimental basis. I am thinking of, for example, secondary schools, even private ones, run under the auspices of university or teaching colleges, in which the curriculum and teaching would supervised by a senate.

I also want to take a careful look at the law on higher education from the angle of transferring prerogatives from the responsible minister to college rectors. I think that colleges need to be self-governing. All student organizations whose statutes do not violate constitutional principles or generally accepted moral norms could be registered at universities. The lack of funds is a problem that troubles everyone working in education. That is why I will be fighting to have the needs of education understood and to get appropriate additional funding. First, I will be doing this in order to get better equipment and books for schools, and second, to put an end to the absurd situation in which teachers and scholars have such a low social status. Their status has been consistently worn down since 1948. It is high time that the situation changed.

Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of foreign economic cooperation: I did not accept the proposal without hesitation. You have to be a born optimist—and I am one—to be able to hope that a lot of good things can be achieved. The situation is a difficult one, and it is even more difficult, because I am going to be working in a department that deals with an extraordinarily wide range of problems. Nevertheless, I do expect to achieve results.

Let us begin with some issues to which a lot of Poles attach a great many hopes, that is, our ties with the IMF and the World Bank. There are grounds for believing that our search for openings to the rest of the world will produce some economic opportunities. However, it is hard to believe that this manna—in the form of unlimited credits—will just drop out of the sky. That is why I propose employing a strategy of believing in a better future while, at the same time, staying clear of wishful thinking.

However, breaking with traditional ways of thinking such as, you can only do something sensible if there is a lot of money around—would be a great help. My experience indicates that, for example, getting so-called commercial credits would produce inestimable results. Let us not be afraid of exploiting the many years of cooperation between our firms and dozens of firms in the West. I think that by skillfully restoring confidence—through enterprises—we will be able to attract a lot of money to Poland. What is the most important thing about this? Let us begin to trade with businessmen who have a rapid turnover, which will force our firms to behave the same way. Fast receipts produce rapid results, and that is the important thing.

I would also like to see a change in ways of thinking about exports and imports. It would be a good thing if we were to finally stop thinking of exports as a way of channeling our surpluses out of the country, and imports as a way of papering over cracks. Exporting should mean selling inexpensive and good output abroad, and we should import what others do better and cheaper. This way of thinking has a chance to prove itself, because of the emphasis on increasing output and an active role for commerce.

I would also say that, if the registration regulations are simplified for everyone—for both big and small firms—who wants to take up the job of "making dollars," then the dollars will start pouring into the economy.

Anyone who listened carefully to what the premier said will understand perfectly that today we have an opportunity to act very differently. This is but one of the great opportunities provided to the new team, and I intend to use these opportunities.

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, minister of industry: The fact that a private businessman has become minister of industry is something of a sign of the times. It also attests to the boldness of the premier, who has chosen people according to his own convictions. That aside, I have not been a private businessman all that long. Previously, I worked my way up through the various levels of state service, in which I held appropriate posts. I think that this experience also had a bearing on the premier's decision. Ultimately, this way of viewing the economy "from both sides" is very instructive.

I come to this post as someone who is independent, and who values his independence. This is so because this is the only way in which one can act openly and realize one's ideas. This might sound like a challenge, but I made my first half-million quite a long time ago, with patent IXI-65. Then, I skillfully used this money to make more.

I am an independent person, but I must begin my work by establishing relations with the people that I will meet. However, I would not like to work within current laws, but would like to work on producing new regulations. I hope that, as a member of the Council of Minister's Economic Commission, I will have an opportunity to, for example, influence the form that the tax system takes. The current system is deadly from the enterprises' point of view. After all, legislation must promote enterprise and expansion.

The needs of our economy are immeasurable, its deficiencies are immeasurable, and the abilities of our people are immeasurable. It is important that we can work in a politically peaceful situation, and it seems that this will be the case. The most important thing for me is to try to effect the restructuring of the economy. I think that we have to put money into investment projects and industries that will produce fast results. It is not true that we do not have money, it is just that we have been spending it badly.

More Ministers Express Policy Views, Goals

AU1910122188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Oct 88 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "RZECZPOSPOLITA Asks: What Is Your Credo?"]

[Text] Jozef Koziol [new minister of environmental protection and natural resources]: Please notice that environmental protection is one of the three government priorities which the premier expressed in his speech. Obviously, the state of the environment is having an increasing effect on people's lives, production, and services. Therefore, an improvement in this sphere would meet social expectations halfway.

Environmental protection must become a real priority, not a formal one. The premier's speech expresses this intention. That is how the work of the government, especially the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources, must be. I expect society's involvement in these matters and the resources necessary to implement them.

One of my objectives will be not just to make people aware of the dangers to the environment and existing needs, but to show them that we have the human potential to protect it. Among other things, I will pay attention to developing effective international cooperation in this sphere. We have already made progress here, because Poland's initiatives are well known in the international arena.

Aleksander Krawczuk [minister of culture and art]: I consider it my chief aim to continue the work we have started, in other words to achieve an openness of culture and a maximum expansion of the freedom of speech and of organizational pluralism.

Next, I want to continue with the policy of openness of culture, in the sense that everything created by Poles anywhere in the world belongs to us, as long as these Poles still maintain bonds with Poland and feel jointly responsible for its fate.

And third, I want to provide more material support for culture in all spheres and in all its aspects.

I also want to make it clear that we will see to it that our past, our cultural heritage is preserved for posterity.

I also consider the socialization of culture to be an important goal. Culture must belong less to the state and more to society. What I mean is, the state cannot direct and control everything in culture. As a sponsor, the state should not direct it in any way. The state has to support various processes, but culture is already more and more of a social phenomenon and under social management, and that is how it must remain.

Lukasz Balcer [new minister of justice]: Above all, a minister of justice should supervise judges, magistrates, notaries, and other cadres employed by this ministry. The primary task is to see to it that the cadres remain stable and have proper working conditions.

The second task is to adapt the general courts to changing socioeconomic conditions. This will involve legislative work, one of the most important parts of which is to draft a bill on economic courts as quickly as possible and present it before the Sejm. Economic law is part of civil law, therefore the economic judiciary must function within the framework of the general judiciary. That is my opinion on this quite controversial topic.

It is also important to complete the legislative work that was started years ago, involving the codification of criminal and civil law. The result should be a legal system that can adapt itself to changing conditions and suits the requirements of the economic reform.

Finally, there is a broader task that goes beyond the ministry itself. The minister of justice should periodically examine the files of other ministers and come up with legislative ideas.

Zbigniew Grabowski [new head of the Office for the Advancement and Application of Science and Technology]: Because there are many tasks, the first thing I will do is to help eliminate the barriers that distort daily life, including science—for example, excessive controls and bureaucracy. I will see to it that research which is particularly important for developing science and the country's economy receives adequate funding. I will support constructive initiatives and innovations, and their application in the sector for which my office is responsible.

I will pay a lot of attention to scientific cooperation with foreign countries, and also with Poles abroad. It is possible to take advantage of the links with our graduates, including prewar graduates, who now live abroad but who still maintain ties with Poland. They will be able to help us with their experience. We will try to avail ourselves of their help in establishing contacts with scientific centers that are of interest to us.

I believe in the possibility of implementing the adopted tasks that stem from the needs of the economy and the ambition of the scientific community and society.

Tadeusz Olechowski [still foreign minister]: I assumed my office with great optimism and hope. The broad dialogue in the world, especially between East and West, has assumed concrete proportions. We observe progress in settling regional conflicts. All this is creating a positive international climate.

In Europe, the CSCE Vienna talks are drawing to a close. This presents the possibility of further talks on disarmament and confidence-building, and on economic and humanitarian issues. A rapprochement between East and West Europe is also occurring, in accordance with the concept of a joint European home.

Despite all this, there is no shortage of difficulties and problems. Nevertheless, one can feel a readiness to reach compromises, to take a step forward, and cooperate. There is a lot of talk about the need to solve together the challenges posed by the end of the 20th century.

The socialist states have entered a period of exceptionally dynamic change. This is making our internal work easier. The world is monitoring the dialogue in Poland and the emergence of Polish socialist pluralism.

I would like us to take advantage of the international climate in order to alleviate all the burdens caused by the repayment of debts and interest. The chances of doing this are great. I consider this to the number one task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in concert with the economic ministries.

Marcin Nurowski [new minister of internal trade]: I must say straightaway that I do not intend to formulate any new program. The ones already in existence are exhaustive. All one has to do is to implement them consistently. Today, the point is no longer a multiplication of objectives, but rather an attainment of the concrete results expected by society.

Of course, certain priorities in the work of a minister of trade are obvious. They apply to the food market. I think that the food market may be improved not by increasing imports, but by expanding the food processing industry. The experience I gained while deputy mayor of Warsaw is very useful. It turns out that rapid and permanent effects can be achieved if the same amount of foreign currency that was spent on finished products is instead spent on new equipment for factories.

My Warsaw experience also teaches me that in trade, there is no need to invent new incentive systems in order to improve its functioning. We already have firms for whom it is sufficient to employ existing solutions in order to considerably improve their work organization, standards of service, and supplies. The point is that enterprises should realize that the basic unit of trade is not the enterprise director, but the shop. It is the minister's job to drive the truth of this statement home to all directors of trade enterprises.

Aleksander Kwasniewski [member of the Council of Ministers, due to become head of the new Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee]: We are tired and impatient. Therefore, bold, dynamic ideas and work consistency are required. This is the easiest recipe for success, but the most difficult one to implement. I am convinced we have a modern country in which intelligent, enterprising, and energetic people will set the pace and triumph, and who will not become frustrated.

I would like the new Sociopolitical Committee to help the government in this work. I would like it to suggest programs and decisions that will not interfere with human initiative, but wich will encourage it and satisfy social needs and expectations.

I will want to invite political, social, and youth organizations to cooperate closely with the committee and to help us work out a joint concept. I believe that the different opinions, experiences, and points of view of the members of these organizations will enrich the prepared proposals.

On the other hand, in the Youth and Physical Culture Committee I intend to continue the work that I have started. Let us return to the government program of work for the sake of young people. I think greater progress in implementing this program will be possible under the new conditions.

The Seoul Olympics have restored Polish society's hopes and confidence in athletics. We can receive even more satisfaction from athletics in the future. However, we have to implement very consistently the planned changes to the organization, financing, and training of athletes and coaches. These are very difficult tasks, but they can be performed with the support of the relevant milieus.

Tribunal Rules on Coal Supply Restriction

LD2610141488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] The Constitutional Tribunal has pronounced that a Council of Ministers resolution restricting the supply of coal for living purposes to private farmers infringes the constitutional principle of equality of citizens before the law, and social justice. Five months ago the then premier presented a proposal on a renewed examination of this matter. Today at the Constitutional Tribunal Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek withdrew this proposal on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

Farmers Union Chief on Farming's Progress, Goals

PM1810083588 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 30 Sep 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Zdzislaw Zambrzycki, chairman of the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles, and Agricultural Organizations (KZRKIOR), by Marian Suchozebrski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Suchozebrski] We usually cite facts and figures concerning the sphere of production. They are as important to those who live in rural communities as to those who live in cities: After all, we are talking about our daily bread, about attempts to meet our everyday needs as fully as possible, and about our living standards. On the eve of the day when we celebrate our largest agricultural organization it is worth emphasizing and highlighting its leading role as a defender of the interests of those who produce our food.

[Zambrzycki] Yes, this is the fifth time we have celebrated Agricultural Circles Day, and this year the main celebrations will take place in the Bialystok region. This is an opportunity to sum up our achievements, to look back at our past as well as forward into the future, and to highlight the problems which affect the farming community today.

From our rich history we draw the awareness that a peasants' organization can help improve the life of farmers and the knowledge of how this can be done. You only have to talk to activists from circles which go back whole decades, or even more than a century, to see how proud they are of their fathers' and grandfathers' diligence, ambition, and achievements.

When our movement was being organized in the second half of the 19th century (the first circle was set up in 1862), it was necessary to oppose the economic policy of the occupying powers and improve farmers' circumstances by way of disseminating agrarian knowledge, creating joint companies, and modernizing the existing farms. All that has remained as traditional forms of our activity even today, although they are now realized in very different circumstances. All the same, self-organization and self-help have constituted the principal features of our programs throughout the 126 years of our history.

[Suchozebrski] In both the distant and the more recent past there have been episodes of agricultural circles' glory, their decline, and even break periods when their activity stopped.

[Zambrzycki] After the liberation of our country agricultural circles were reactivated in 1956. Their indisputable achievement at that time was the introduction of agricultural machines into farming practice. This was at first done on a collective basis, as private farms in the 1950's and 1960's could not take advantage of any other forms of purchasing and using agricultural machines.

A fundamental change in the role of the agricultural circles organization took place in the 1980's. For the first time we assumed responsibility for officially representing farmers' social and professional interests. Since 1982 we have been doing this on the basis of a statutory authorization and independently of the state administration. We are a mass organization, with a membership of some 2 million. (Before the war, about 8 percent of farmers belonged to agricultural circles). We command a vast fortune in service and production assets; we operate on a statutory basis; and we constitute a significant element in the democratic structure of out country.

[Suchozebrski] However, it must be said that neither your members nor your activists have sufficient reason to feel perfect contentment and satisfaction. Our farmers' needs and aspirations are not being met satisfactorily. What is the reason for this?

[Zambrzycki] Many years ago we had our share in plotting the course of our agricultural policy, whose main directions were determined by the PZPR and the ZSL. All farmers are familiar with the principles established jointly by those two parties and—more importantly—they approve and support them. By virtue of its role as a representative of the interests of the farming community, the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles, and Agricultural Organizations monitors the practical realization of those principles. The new policy has activated the farming community's potential in the spheres of production and social and professional activity. For example, it is worth recalling the increased demand for land, machines, construction materials, and even the intensified settlers movement. Agriculture was the first sector to emerge from the crisis, and the food market has proved to be the best balanced.

Unfortunately, these successes gave many decisionmakers a sense of security which was shared by the public. We even saw the emergence of supporters of a thesis which maintained that developing Polish agriculture, or guaranteeing parity of incomes for the farming sector, were not matters of urgent priority. Lack of consistency in the implementation of agricultural policy, departures from its principles, and sluggish realization of otherwise good programs have resulted in the curbing of all growth tendencies in the sphere of food production.

[Suchozebrski] This diagnosis of the existing situation is hardly optimistic. If things are really so bad, then we must conclude that your union, as the defender of the interests of the farming community and agriculture in general, is not fulfilling its statutory obligations in a satisfactory way.

[Zambrzycki] The National Union has not been looking on passively as the situation developed. Each year, as soon as problems appeared, we presented our assessments to the government and the Sejm; we recommended that they make decisions which would encourage development of our food economy; and we warned against the consequences of fragmentary implementation of the agricultural policy, particularly in the prices and incomes division. The idea was to run an "early warning" system.

It must be said that our assessments and recommendations received understanding and support from academics, PRON activists, and also Sejm deputies. Nevertheless, a large number of them were never acted upon. We were also charged with making excessive demands, and there were instances when we were given no reply at all or where decisions were repeatedly delayed. It all culminated in the Main Council of the National Union refusing to approve the government's decision on contract purchase prices for this year.

[Suchozebrski] We are talking about prices and recommendations. But where is consistency of action, clout, or the sense of responsibility?

[Zambrzycki] We have also resorted to legislative means for protest and the resolution of conflict. Thus, for example, we won the dispute over coal allocation quotas for residents of rural communities before the Constitutional Tribunal and we instituted proceedings to guarantee adequate supplies of coal for production purposes (as a result of our action the situation changed for the better). We could not endorse the finance minister's views on incomes parity and the matter was placed on the agenda of the Public Arbitration Court at the Voivodship Court in Warsaw. This dispute has not been resolved yet, but it has now become accepted practice to appeal against decisions made by heads of ministries.

The examples I have quoted here do not illustrate the whole area of activity of the National Union nor the organizations united within it connected with the defence and protection of farmers' interests. Many matters have been settled without attracting publicity, in the course of routine business. These include, among others, the influence brought to bear by the National Union in the matter of the formulation of land legislation. We took an active part in the preparation of the acts regulating land sale and management, the taxation system, social and property insurance, and many others. We pressed for changes to be made in a large number of obsolete regulations.

The issue of dispossession can serve as an example. This year the government submitted to the Sejm a draft plan of changes to be introduced in the act on land management, whereby farmers were to be paid compensation for land requisitioned for development at the rates obtaining for farming land. We intervened in the Sejm and we received support from the deputies, as the proposed solution would have been prejudicial to the land owners, who are mostly farmers. The Sejm turned down the government plan. There have been dozens of cases of this kind, but farmers are not always aware of them.

[Suchozebrski] The pension system for farmers is another controversial issue. Not all the objections raised against it are justified, but some modifications in the existing regulations are obviously necessary.

[Zambrzycki] We have received approbation from many quarters, including the government, for our proposal to introduce changes in the conditions which determine farmers' eligibility to draw pensions—specifically, to grant farmers the right to a pension also in cases where they have sold their farms, according to the principle whereby a pension is given in return for the work done, not for the hectares which have been sold. We collaborate with the ministries in the preparation of other changes in the act on social insurance for farmers and their families. Recently we presented a proposal stipulating the introduction of interim solutions before the whole insurance system undergoes a fundamental revision. These are just a few typical examples of the National Union's actions.

I have left out the whole area of social welfare issues relevant to rural communities in which we take a strong interest—including medical care, safety at work, education, and so on. I can safely state that there is no facet of life in the farming sector which would remain outside the scope of our concerns or which we have not tried to sort out to the advantage of the people who live in rural communities. All this is accompanied by actions undertaken by parish and voivodship organizations of our union, as well as those pursued by the agricultural circles themselves. What a lot of local issues have been solved on the spot in this way!

But we realize that they represent a mere fraction of the problems which continue to preoccupy the farming sector.

[Suchozebrski] The principal issues here include the economic situation of private farmers, prices, quality, and supply amounts of agricultural means of production, living conditions, and the problem of services to agriculture, which are still monopolized.

[Zambrzycki] According to our assessments, last year some 12-15 percent of farms recorded incomes comparable to or higher than those enjoyed by employees of the socialized sector. Unfortunately, Polish farms are again falling prey to poverty and indifference. The prices scissors keep opening wider and wider. The principle of staggered price increases was abandoned back in 1983. Even if contract purchase prices are going up, prices of the means of production are simply rocketing sky-high. Examples: In 1982 you could buy a C-330 tractor for the equivalent of 234 quintals of rye grain, while today you would have to set aside 355 quintals for the purchase; a power-lift plow would cost the equivalent of 11 quintals of rye grain in 1982, while today it costs almost 17 quintals; the price of a Bizon combine harvester has jumped from the equivalent of 960 quintals to 1,530 quintals.

The drop in private farmers' incomes has resulted in a reduction of their capital purchases and their investment outlays as well as purchases of such yield-enhancing agents as, for example, fertilizers. Expenditure designed to increase production is not proving worthwhile. This is a clear danger signal!

Such was our assessment of the situation which we presented to the premier on 7 September this year. We will also present it to the new government. We hope that the roundtable debate will include issues connected with the future of Poland's farming sector.

We also spoke about it at our 16 September meeting with the leaders of the National Trade Union Alliance, and also during the 19 September Sejm debate (the address by deputy Norbert Aleksiewicz, chairman of the KZRK-IOR General Council). We will carry out a further assessment of the incomes situation of private farmers after the 3d quarter and we will prepare appropriate recommendations.

[Suchozebrski] There was a time when the rural sector was supposed to lag behind the urban sector; now the situation seems to have become reversed. So far, the economic reform has not brought any fundamental changes in the supply of the means of production to the agricultural sector, which would have been an essential factor in the modernization of our farms.

[Zambrzycki] We certainly did add our voice to the debate when the objectives of the reform were being defined. It was mainly on matters concerning the structural changes to be made in the Polish economy in order to switch to more substantial production for the needs of agriculture. We are determined to continue to promote the idea of making food production our main national industry. We believe that in this way we can realize our social objectives and overcome the crisis much more quickly.

The experience of recent years demonstrates that the farming sector wishes to fulfill its obligations to the whole nation in a satisfactory way. Administrative authorities at all levels should display a truly partnerlike attitude to farmers' socioprofessional organization. They should make their decisions in consultation with us. Only then will there be fewer mistakes and less bitterness among our activists.

Agricultural circles do not intend to abdicate their rights or their duties. The Ninth Congress of Delegates, for which we are currently preparing, is certain to confirm our intention and our determination. The belief is gaining ground that an efficiently operating food-economy system constitutes a necessary basis for solving our country's economic, social, and even political problems.

[Suchozebrski] Thank you for the interview.

Jaruzelski Greets Pope's 10th Anniversary

LD1810060388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, has sent a letter of congratulations to Pope John Paul II on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of his pontification.

Let met remind you that television will broadcast on its first program the pontifical mass from St Peter's Basilica in the Vatican tomorrow, at 0955. Also at 1715 tomorrow, on the first program, we will be able to see a documentary by Jerzy Ambroziewicz and Tadeusz Zakrzewski entitled "Ten Years of John Paul II."

Mozambican Premier Arrives on Visit

AU2610201688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/10/1988—The prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mario da Graca Machungo, arrived in Bucharest in the evening of 26 October for an official visit to Romania at the invitation of Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu.

The Mozambican premier is accompanied by Alexandre Zandamela, minister of agriculture, by other officials.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Premier Constantin Dascalescu, deputy prime minister Neculai Ibanescu, ministers, other Romanian officials.

Deputy Premier Oprea Received by Egypt's Mubarak

AU2510195088 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] On behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, cordial and friendly greetings, together with best wishes for good health and happiness and for success in the activity dedicated to the country's socioeconomic prosperity, were extended to Muhammaed Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and to Mrs Susanne Mubarak, as well as wishes for prosperity and peace to the friendly Egyptian people.

Expressing warm thanks, the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt requested that sentiments of profound esteem and friendship be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, on his own behalf and on behalf of Mrs Susanne Mubarak, as well as wishes for good health, long life, and great energy in work, and wishes to the friendly Romanian people for fresh and important successes in Romania's socioeconomic growth.

The exchange of messages took place when President Muhammad Husni Mubarak received Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the Romanian side in the joint Romanian-Egyptian Government Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation.

During the meeting, the sides noted the upward trend of relations of friendship and cooperation at various levels between the two countries and peoples. They also discussed current international issues.

President Husni Mubarak expressed great words of appreciation for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's steps and initiatives aimed at a global, just, and lasting solution to the Middle East situation.

Deputy Premier Petrescu Meets Hungarian Official

AU2510161288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] On Wednesday, 19 October, Comrade Barbu Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government, received Imre Szabo, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry of the Hungarian People's Republic, who is paying a visit to our country on the occasion of the Bucharest International Fair.

During the talks, the sides discussed the continuous development of Romanian-Hungarian economic relations, the expansion of cooperation between the two countries in fields of joint interest, and the increase and diversification of the mutual exchange of goods.

The meeting was attended by Pal Szuts, the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest.

Szasz-Led Delegation Travels to Peru, Argentina

Received by Sanchez

AU2410194288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Lima (AGERPRES) 24/10/1988—A Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Iosif Szasz, vice-chairman of the Grand National Assembly, paid a friendly visit to Peru at the invitation of that country's parliament. At the end of the visit, the delegation were received by the vice-president of the Republic of Peru, Luis Alberto Sanchez.

Meets With Alfonsin

AU2510200388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Buenos Aires (AGERPRES) 25/10/1988—Warm messages were exchanged in Argentina's capital between the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of Argentina, Raul Alfonsin, when the latter received the Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Iosif Szasz, GNA vice-chairman, now on a visit to that country. During the talk stress was laid on the wish to further develop bilateral relations on multiple planes.

The Romanian parliamentary delegation had talks with the president of the Chamber of Deputies, with the acting president of the Senate, the interim minister of foreign affairs, the secretary for regional development, with members of the foreign affairs and science and technology commissions of the Chamber of Deputies.

Ceausescu Cables PRC Leaders From Plane

AU2110191588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 88 p 2

["Telegram From Aboard Presidential Plane" from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and to Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China]

[Text] To Comrade Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and to Comrade Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China,

At the end of our visit to the People's Republic of China, on behalf of my wife, my aides who accompany me, and on my own behalf, on this occasion I would like to convey to you heartfelt thanks for the friendly reception you extended to me throughout my visit to your country.

I firmly believe that our meeting, our talks, and the understandings we reached during this visit will mark a new and important contribution to the more marked development of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the People's Republic of China and between the RCP and the CPC, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, understanding, and peace throughout the world.

I express my satisfaction with the results of this visit and, together with our farewell greetings, I would again like to extend to you cordial wishes for good health and personal happiness, and to the friendly Chinese people wishes for new and ever greater achievements in building socialism, ensuring the socioeconomic development of their homeland, improving their standard of living, and in their struggle for peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Dascalescu Greets Chinese Counterpart on Birthday

AU2510120588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, sent a telegram to Comrade Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on the latter's 60th birthday. On behalf of the government and on his own behalf, Constantin Dascalescu conveys to Li Peng cordial greetings and best wishes for good health and success in his activities.

The telegram expresses the belief that, working in the spirit of the understandings reached at the summit level, the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop, for the benefit of the Romanian and the Chinese people and in the interest of the cause of peace, socialism, and international cooperation.

Ceausescu Sends Message to Kim Il-song

AU2410133888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Oct 88 p 3

[President Nicolae Ceausescu "Cable From Aboard Presidential Plane" to DPRK President Kim Il-song]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president

Departing the DPRK, I would like to express warmest thanks, on my and my wife's behalf, for the particularly warm hospitable reception we enjoyed throughout our visit to your country. We also want to express thanks to the residents of Pyongyang and the Korean people for the warm and enthusiastic signs of friendship, which made our visit a true celebration of Romanian-Korean friendship, cooperation, and revolutionary solidarity.

Fully satisfied with the results of our visit, I want to express the conviction that, in the spirit of the talks and understandings we jointly arrived at, the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the DPRK and between the RCP and WPK will develop even more and at various levels in the interest of the Romanian and Korean peoples, and develop the cause of socialism, peace, and international cooperation.

I take special pleasures in extending, together with our welfare greetings, cordial wishes for good health and personal happiness to you, esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song, and to Comrade Kim Song-ae, as well as wishes for fresh successes to the friendly Korean people in implementing the decisions of the Sixth WPK Congress, in developing their homeland on the road to socialism, and in achieving the basic aspirations of the whole Korean nation: the peaceful, independent, and democratic reunification of the country.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Libyan Envoy Meets Press Representatives

AU2610201588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/10/1988—The secretary of the People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bucharest, Muhammad 'Umar al-Baruni, arranged a meeting with the press on 26 October when he spoke about the commemoration of the victims of the fight for Libya's national independence and sovereignty during the period of Italian colonialism, 1911-1943.

The speaker also underscored the fine ties of friendship, cooperation and solidarity established between Libya and Romania, their continuingly upward course, in the spirit of the understandings and decisions reached during the Libyan-Romanian summit dialogue.

French UNESCO Official Visits, Holds Talks

AU2410203188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/10/1988—Over October 19-23, the president of the French National Commission for UNESCO, Prof Jean Sirinelli, paid a visit to Romania when he had working interviews at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Socialist Culture and Education Council, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Religious Denominations Department, the Writers' Union, the Bucharest University, the "Nicolae Iorga" institute of history and the Romanian National Commission for UNESCO.

A broad exchange of opinions was made and possibilities were identified to develop and diversify the Romanian-French collaboration in the fields of education, science and culture, as a contribution to the mutual knowledge, the consolidation of peace and international understanding. The guest visited places of social and cultural interest in Bucharest and other towns.

DELO Comments on Constitutional Amendments

AU2710110088 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Oct 88 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Majda Vukelic: "Perseverence Rewarded"]

[Text] The constitutional discussion, which in the past few months has been becoming more and more a game of politics, accusations, and threats instead of sober and sensible arguments, has now ended so that all those who do not consider socialism, democracy, and respect for the constitutional decisions merely empty words may be satisfied or even optimistic. The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopted the final proposal of amendments to the federal Constitution 2 days ago, without any of the delegates voting against it.

The Friday discussion on constitutional changes did not come close to promising such a development. Several delegates demanded that the federal Constitutional Commission should once again discuss some proposals which meant an essentially different nature of the federation and different relations in it. It also appeared that there was no more will or strength to find a common solution for the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army. Provisions were nevertheless adopted the next day about which one could say that they present opportunities for carrying out the reform and that they do not pose a threat to the sovereignty of any republic or to the autonomy of the provinces.

The events of the last days thus give us hope that with persistent, active, and sensible work, we may—despite the grave crisis—eliminate the differences that seemed to be unsurmountable until yesterday.

The procedure of adopting the constitutional amendments has not been concluded yet. The proposal will now be sent to the republican and provincial assemblies for their consent. The delegates of the Slovene Assembly will have to decide before that whether a referendum should nevertheless be held although the disputed amendments no longer exist. With this perseverence rewarded we must of course be aware that the work on implementation acts will be perhaps even more involved, because our awareness has not yet been transformed into an awareness of the market, business efficiency, and economic laws.

Army Satisfied on Finance, Constitution Amendments

LD2510162488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Essentially we are satisfied with the decisions on financing the Yugoslav People's Army which have been included in the adopted proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution. If these are consistently transformed into federal laws it is certain that they will increase the security and stability of ensuring resources for the army. This was stated to TANJUG by Lieutenant Colonel General Nikola Cubra, head of the department for development and finance planning of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

It is significant, said Gen Cubra, that in addition to the current sources of federal budget income, the possibility is envisaged of introducing a special turnover tax which would only be used for the needs of the army. If even these resources are not enough it has been made possible for other types of tax to be introduced for these purposes, which will be a part of the country's tax system.

It is also important that the SFRY Presidency initiative has been fully accepted on simplifying the procedure to establish the amount of YPA resources when the federal budget is being passed, by which the army will continue to be financed. That is to say, the republics and provinces will agree on the amount of their contribution for the medium-term plan period, and annual budgets will be established by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber by a majority of votes.

I hope that in this way, stressed Gen Cubra, shortcomings in the current method of financing the YPA will be removed. As is known, for some 10 years these have manifested themselves in the failure to ensure the planned amount of resources and in irregularity in their influx during the year, which brought the army into the position where it was running late in fulfilling its obligations. To this one should also add that the simplified procedure for establishing the resources in the SFRY Assembly will make easier their revaluation in the framework of rebalancing the federal budget, as well as the addition of what has been "eaten away" by inflation.

For example let us cite the fact that the army this year owed up to 400 billion dinars and that a delay of up to one month in payments reduced the real value of resources by about 15 percent, stated Nikola Cubra.

Further Reportage, Comment on 17th LCY Plenum

Korosec's 'Deposited Statement' at Plenum

AU2610111888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 88 p 5

["Deposited statement" by Stefan Korosec, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session: "We Have Gone Beyond the Limits of Social Endurance"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct— The prevailing assessment is that our society is at a crossroads, perhaps a historic one: Will we find the strength to mobilize all the creative potential and energy of working people and citizens to start a new stage of the development of socialism, or will we continue to slide downward, even with regard to the strategic orientations of the LC, which were our society's strongest integrational factor (socialism, the idea of self-management, the equality of peoples and nationalities, our federal setup based on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, and so on)?

Our society is going through a great political tribulation. The concept of economic reform has been losing its mobilizing strength, because of the failure to implement the aims of economic policy and the drastic fall of the standard of living of working people and citizens on the one hand, and the task required by the reform of the economic system—the costly and inevitably painful process of restructuring that will show results only in the long run—on the other. The expansion of social discontent, the unsolved Kosovo problems, and exacerbation of intranational relations—all this increasingly takes the form of broader political discontent of working people and citizens.

We must be aware of the fact that we are facing a very difficult period in the political consolidation of the country, the creation of a modern economic structure, as well as in the change in socioeconomic attitudes and opinions. Therefore, at this session we must start the necessary process of real political consolidation and thereby create room for implementing the three reforms.

We are getting more deeply into a political crisis, because the focus of the crisis of the political consciousness lies in the LC and hence we find it difficult to talk openly, soberly, and with respect for each others' reasons about essential questions of our society, about differences in views and causes of these differences, as well as about the erosion of confidence in society and the LC.

It is important for today's session to settle the conflicts connected with the method of political action. This is a rather complex question and the demarcation lines are not always clear. The essential conflict arises between the use of pressure as a way to solve problems and a method of constructive and patient discussions. The conflict is a consequence of sluggish solutions to problems and of the defensive bureaucratic and dogmatic consciousness, but it is also a consequence of the fact that this conflict has been pulling us more and more into a political crisis and even the crisis of the LC. This is, above all, expressed in the current political issues (meetings, extraordinary congresses, extraordinary elections).

The question is how to solve the crisis of leadership.... The existing model of behavior of the members of LC executive political bodies is burdened by verbal narcissism. They listen to themselves alone. Real reasons are not accepted, there is no collective consciousness, so therefore collective thought finds it difficult to come to the fore and we have no strength and abilities to achieve a democratic synthesis. People follow one another on the rostrum, debates last for a long time, conclusions accumulate, and the problems remain.

The continuation of the present disintegrational tendencies in our society could have fateful consequences in the erosion of our constitutional order and for our country's prospects. We must openly discuss the escalation of nationalism and the other political confrontations and conflicts among certain LCY organs and the practice of trying to solve problems primarily through exerting pressure. The question arises: What is the role of the Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee in these processes? It is either only a pragmatic and analytical factor or, with regard to its role, an integrational factor in our society which is also responsible to the workers class, a factor which constructs conditions for the essential re-integration in our society through its ideopolitical activity. This activity is based on democratic and well-argued dialogue and respect for the differences which were caused by the historical values of the individual peoples.

We have gone beyond the limits of social endurance. It would be dangerous for us to make the same mistakes as the those made during the middle of 1985. It would be a mistake for us to deviate from the basic orientation of the "May economic policy." Within the framework of the available income, it is essential for us to carry out a temporary but very urgent redistribution of income which would favor personal incomes. In this sense, perhaps it would be useful to verify the possibility of unburdening the economy by transforming the system of evaluating economic assets, and perhaps we should take measures to set off the provision for bad debts by using the available funds of the Basic Organizations of Associated Labor and it might also be useful to adequately increase the public debt.

This way of implementing economic policy measures together with a change in the interest rate policy would influence the profitability of bank investments. I have presented only some of the specific measures of the economic policy because I think that it is time that we specifically discussed this in this way in the LC.

DELO Analysis

AU2610120888 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Oct 88 p 19

[Danilo Slivnik article: "Nationalistic Stampede Stopped?"]

[Excerpts] For those who assess the dramatic quality of political events according to the well-known Bolshevik principle, "the more heads roll, the better," the 17th LCY Central Committee session was probably a deadly boring political ritual of people repeating the same things that they have said to each other innumerable times. However, to the horror of the millions of television viewers watching this event, just to keep in practice, they once again went through another performance of the well-oiled show in which everything is known from the very beginning: the lead actors, the extras, the director, and the outcome.... Despite these absurd expectations, inspired above all by impudent political slogans at various protest meetings and public rallies, the 17th LCY Central Committee session was nevertheless in many respects a dramatic political event in which much was uncertain from the very beginning, and its end brought about an almost open political clash, a clash that had been predicted by many before the big session and that could have had far-reaching consequences for the Yugoslav party.

Slobodan Milosevic's Conciliatory Speech [subhead]

Somebody will perhaps say that now that everything is over there is no sense in digging into the background of the session; they apply the saying all's well that ends well, as has been said after many other sessions, regardless of the fact that everything continued as it had before. However, this would be very short-sighted conduct, because despite the 3-day discussions, the session left many things unsaid and it suppressed many conflicts only as a stop-gap measure, while those who indulged in these conflicts clearly intend to renew them at the first opportunity. [passage omitted]

It is true that at the end of the session, the participants themselves tried to smooth over some differences, saying that in essence "nobody was defeated" at the session, that "no coalition" was at work, and that the Central Committee was in fact "united..." However, this was but the self-defense reflex of plenum habits acquired over many years, and was a remnant of old political thinking according to which there should be no differences among the leading cadres. Some Central Committee members simply were shocked by each other and reacted in the way that people react in central committees under real socialism or in well-known Kremlin halls, where these reflexes are developed in detail, and where according to public statements they are always united, although great battles are being fought among them all the time. Of course, nobody intends to push Yugoslavia back to the East or to make any unpleasant comparisons, but the times are such that we must all soberly look at everything and call a spade a spade. In this respect, a great political clash occurred at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, although many participants in the discussion tried hard to state their views and their demands as indirectly as possible; although at first sight it was not clear on many occasions who was arguing against whom and what each person supported; and although some members at the end tried to hide their differences, even at the cost of dropping the vote of confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium members on permanent assignment. This was advocated, for instance, by Stane Dolanc, Lazar Mojsov, and Bogdan Trifunovic, who warned that the outcome of the vote could be unpredictable and that it could lead to a complete split in the Central Committee...

However, one simply could not go back any more, because much energy had been invested in the session and therefore the chief protagonists ultimately could not give in. Quite clearly, to give in would have been a great political mistake, for the vote distinctly showed the disposition of the political forces in the Central Committee at the moment and what the public would have to reckon with in the coming political events and discussions. There is no sense in hiding that at the session, all of those who lost had calculated that with their political pressure they would impose on the Central Committee the logic of an emergency situation, of a political majorization, and a one-sided interpretation of democratic centralism, according to which some people would be more right than others (as has been the case in some places for some time), and the party minority would have to bow to the majority in a disciplined way. In brief, what lost was Milosevic' political line which—with its mass meetings and unequivocal political demands that only "a strong and united party," such as the Serbian party, can bring Yugoslavia out of the crisis—showed that it has greater ambitions than a constitutional solution for Serbia and a normalization of the situation in Kosovo. As expected, Milosevic of course vehemently denied all this at the session, but he could not do anything else, for any further insistence on his previous demands could have really led to an open conflict in the Central Committee and thus to his personal downfall.

The Relentless Titograd Connection [subhead]

[Passage omitted] It must be said that the representatives of the Serbian party came to the session holding much more conciliatory positions than was expected, considering the statements that had been made at some Belgrade meetings immediately before the beginning of the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum, when it appeared that the leadership there had openly taken to the warpath against all who opposed it in any way. This means that immediately before the zero hour they did assess the setup of forces in the country much more soberly and that the sharp reaction by all of those in Yugoslavia who felt endangered had its effect. Sometime in the future, historians will perhaps quarrel about what was most decisive in this resistance and who played the most important role, but we may assuredly say even now that the reaction of the Montenegrin leadership was very significant. In the days when the republic in Montenegro was shaking, the leadership there reacted very resolutely and prevented an overt overthrow of the existing constitutional order in the country. It is true that no special courage was necessary in those circumstances, for their heads were directly at stake; but in the atmosphere and in the circumstances in which the demarcation line between national and social demands was very fine and all Yugoslav politicians were caught in the same trap of their own effectiveness (and open inefficiency), little was needed to have completely different political instincts prevail in Montenegro. It is therefore impossible to explain the overall denouement at the 17th LCY Central Committee session without mentioning the names of some of those who made the greatest contribution to slightly cooling the temperature in the country recently (perhaps only temporarily, we stress) and to bringing about more sober thinking at all party and state levels.

Meteoric Rise of Marko Orlandic [subhead]

When we mention these names, somebody may perhaps say that we are forging "unprincipled coalitions," coalitions that either do not exist or are insignificant, but such remarks cannot stop an objective analysis of the political situation in the country, particularly because there is simply no politics without names and without politics there is no decision and no (social) progress. [passage omitted]

Because the main trail leads to Montenegro, one should probably start there. In addition to Vidoje Zarkovic, one cannot avoid the role of Marko Orlandic, who in the tumult in Titograd 2 weeks ago quickly decided that the incited crowd in front of the Montenegrin Assembly constituted a peculiar danger to him, too, regardless of the fact that according to the designs of Serbian nationalist heads in those days, he was meant to fill the role of some kind henchman for Milosevic in new, greater Serbia... (the demonstrators did not demand his resignation). His meteoric rise to the very top of the latest Yugoslav party politics began right there, for only a few days later we saw him shoulder to shoulder with Stipe Suvar at the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo provincial party committee in Pristina, at which the first public split occurred between the federal Presidium and the Serbian party leadership.

Marko Orlandic, who learned a few lessons in political pragmatism while he was the Yugoslav ambassador to Moscow, submitted the opening speech at this session, in which he clearly stated that the assessments of the Kosovo situation by the federal Presidium in some respects differed from the Serbian assessments, and that the LCY Central Committee Presidium did not intend to support the Serbian demands in their entirety. Vidoje Zarkovic, who was also present, directly said (along with some others, including Milan Kucan) that the Serbian leadership must also bear its share of responsibility for the Kosovo situation and that it cannot simply shift the responsibility for the poor situation onto others. These were the moments when Milosevic's leadership began to make its first open mistakes, mistakes that led it to take a great defensive at the 17th session. Thus, for instance, Milosevic did not attend the Pristina session, although he asserted all the time that he was only interested in Kosovo; Zoran Sokolovic, his deputy at the session, on behalf of the Serbian party read some kind of ultimatum demanding that the LCY Central Committee should immediately expel from its ranks Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, and Svetislav Dolasevic, because they were allegedly directly responsible for the situation in the province. This provoked indignation both among the public and among those attending the session.

Stipe Suvar's Great Risk [subhead]

Orlandic's role at the 17th LCY Central Committee session was even more important, for he was in the working presidium all the time, and with his resolute reaction late at night on the first day he cut short one of the most aggressive attempts to channel the session against the majority opinion, against the statute rules, and against Stipe Suvar personally, whom the Belgrade press (with the Belgrade City party committee) in the last few days of the past week accused of having tried to put the Serbian leadership on trial at the 17th session. We have in mind the speech by Milovan Popovic, who accused Suvar of petty politicking, alleging that Suvar had turned away from the Serbian leadership and that his statements about the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia had been part of the "election campaign." Not only did Orlandic resolutely reject these reproaches, but he also gave Popovic a proper lesson on good behavior in public, by which he definitely demonstrated that he did not count on any "subordinate position" in the new Serbian party structure.... What this meant for those at the plenum who still cherished a quiet hope that the session would take a "turn" was clearly demonstrated the next morning when Milovan Popovic, in front of everybody and without beating about the bush, made a brief apology saying that it was "late and he was tired..."

This was probably the moment when it became clear to the majority at the Sava Center that the 17th LCY Central Committee session could not bring any further surprises and that sobriety and reason had to some extent prevailed again in the leadership of the Yugoslav party after weeks of tension, when it literally seemed that the country was falling apart. There were also more and more speakers in the discussion who pointed out the wide acceptability of Stipe Suvar's opening report, and thus of course his positive role in the stabilization of the situation in the country. Even when considering Stipe Suvar one should not of course restrict oneself only to these few last days, in which the Bolshevik appetites of the most aggressive Yugoslav political circles were defeated. It is also true that with his skillful political behavior after the Montenegrin events he contributed much to making the clash between two completely opposed political concepts assume its proper features and that these features led to a relative neutralization of the most undemocratic forms of pressure on the existing institutions in the country and on the valid statute rules in the party. Suvar's resolute moves, among other things, also very quickly showed that he did not intend to avoid even personal conflicts with Slobodan Milosevic, by which he confirmed his reputation as a "consistent adversary" to which even his sworn ideological enemies admit, saying that he is "always a step ahead of others" in his fundamentalism... Anyhow, Suvar carried out his role well, probably much better than anybody else in his place would have, although he probably was well aware that he exposed himself to great uncertainties (we must judge matters realistically), for in the meantime questions such as "And who are you, Suvar?" had made their dangerous rounds at the meetings and had warned him that he himself may soon be on the list of those to be shot.

Vacillation Between "Zone A" and "Zone B" [subhead]

However, politics entails risks, and risks either bring great wins or lead to destruction... It seems that Suvar played one of his greatest political games in the past few days, and in front of the eyes of all of us he clearly won it. He thus, with his opening speech, not only appropriately directed the discussion at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, but he also won the vote of confidence in the leadership, by which he at least for some time disarmed the accusations that the highest forum of the Yugoslav Communists lacks the support of the party grassroots. However, as we have said, his opening speech would have been very much in vain had he not ensured with his resolute actions in the preceding week that the Serbian political line had begun to lose its political charge and that its leadership increasingly had had to deal with its own problems. All of a sudden, Suvar began to oppose Milosevic openly, to warn him about wrong steps, to criticize his political views, and so forth. This political offensive reached its peculiar culmination last Thursday at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at which its members discussed attacks on Tito's legacy. By the logic of facts, Suvar succeeded in demonstrating that it was primarily the Serbian leadership that tolerated attacks on Tito in its own community and that therefore something was not right there, despite its assertions that it still followed the Marshal's path (with all the pictures and banners)... From then on it was, of course, just a matter of technique and a question of time as to when Milosevic's policy would be stopped, at least in its most expansionist traits, and restricted to Serbia.

Therefore it was no wonder that even before Monday morning, when the long-expected LCY Central Committee plenum began at the Sava Center (and after all the expressions of support with which the Yugoslav democratic public stepped to the side of the existing constitutional order), it was clear that nothing special could happen at the plenum. After Stipe Suvar's opening speech, several resolute speeches followed, including the speech by Milan Kucan, who clearly warned that we must turn to the future if we want to get out of the crisis, and that any renewed party ogling at power and state structures would lead to a further political and economic fiasco. The speeches by some other Yugoslav leaders were also almost quite acceptable, although they had vacillated between "zone A" and "zone B" for some time in the past few weeks, so that Slobodan Milosevic could do nothing but deliver a rather conciliatory speech. He stated quite plainly that Serbia has no pretensions to the territories of other republics, but that it wishes to have control over the territory within its borders.... Some Albanians in fact opposed this statement later, but it was more or less clear that the direct danger of cadre upheaval was over for at least some time; these upheavals began with the march on Novi Sad, brought the Montenegrin leadership into great difficulties, shook the political structures in Kosovo, and extended their tentacles to other parts of Yugoslavia, too.

This would probably have been the end of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, which—just so, by the way—excited much of the world, had it not been for the vote of confidence in the leadership which was featured as the last point on the agenda. The trap that lay in wait in this vote was probably not properly understood by everybody at first, for otherwise tey would not have observed the events around them with such indifference. Once it was on the agenda, the vote could not be canceled, although it dawned on everybody at that moment that the Central Committee might remain without its Presidium or at least without some of its important members, including Stipe Suvar. It will probably never be known what happened during the marking of the ballots, but at the counting of the votes it so happened that Dusan Ckrebic, a Serbian member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received the least support, and he is a man from Milosevic's camp. The whole picture was then clear to everybody in a flash, and it was only due to the common sense of some Central Committee members that the whole thing did not immediately degenerate into a huge quarrel. Dusan Ckrebic immediately announced his resignation, Slobodan Milosevic threatened that this would not do, and Vinko Hafner, with an admonishing finger, warned the Serbian Communists' chief that he should carefully think over what he would do in the coming days....

It was (again) Stipe Suvar who kept his cool the best and said that each bore his share of guilt, that there was no point in consoling anybody after the vote, and that one would just have to get used to the fact that in politics everybody may lose at any moment.... In brief, everything was all right again, much more so than anybody dared to think a week or 10 days ago. We may even say that things were in such good order that only the 18th LCY Central Committee session which began immediately after the end of the 17th session, caused people to sober up. At the 18th session, the country's constitutional amendments were discussed, and the discussion showed that the differences between the several Central Committee members are nevertheless still so great that even after the successful conclusion of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the Slovenes cannot yet state that we will not run into great political difficulties in defending our sovereignty in the SFRY Assembly in the coming days. It is also not known whether the Kosovo Polje demonstrators will go to Belgrade in the coming days.

Admiral Simic Speech

AU2610163988 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2571 20 Oct 88 p 7

[Speech by Rear Admiral Petar Simic, president of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 17 October]

[Text] Educated in the spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, brotherhood and unity, and in the freedom-loving and revolutionary traditions of our peoples and nationalities, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] personnel live the same life as any member of our society and are involved in and assess the current processes, and attentively guard the achievements of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution. All the complexities of the social processes are present in their consciousness and are reflected in their work and behavior. The LC Organization in the YPA concentrates its activities on combating the negative influences on the ideopolitical unity of the entire YPA personnel and their combat readiness in fulfilling the YPA task as determined by the Constitution. In order to do this, the YPA is engaged not only within its commands, units, and military institutions, but also in the general social field and over the entire country. The YPA regularly informs the highest LCY organs—and occasionally the public—of the results of these activities and its views on the situation and assessment of it.

In September last year, we reacted, through the speech of Branko Mamula at a session of the LCY Organization in the YPA, to the acceleration in the negative trends in society and their effect on the development of the combat readiness of the SFRY Armed Forces. On that occasion we pointed out the following:

—that the LCY is pushed to the edges of social events and that it no longer has decisive influence on the process of the further aggravation of the social crisis;

—that because of this, the situation is slipping out of control, and circumstances dangerous for the security of the country are accumulating;

—that the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo, since the ninth LCY Central Committee session, are intensifying their activities and changing the tactics of their attacks;

—that the movements that want to disintegrate the Antifascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia are being formed rapidly;

—that conditions for putting the LCY to the forefront of the forces that favor progressive social changes still exist, provided that in this process these forces immediately carry out their own reform.

Attitudes to Social Events Were Assessed Negatively [subhead]

Last year confirmed these assessments, warnings, and proposals. There was some reaction, but unfortunately, it came from those who do not regard the strengthening of our country and the LCY to be in their interest. Our observations were described as a desire to arbitrate, as supranational judgment, as a threat to legal institutions, and such things.

We clearly expressed our attitudes toward social events at the Conference of the LCY Organization in the YPA in June when we explained to the public what the Army and party organization had been doing to neutralize negative effects and to develop defense potentials of the country, especially of the SFRY Armed Forces.

Fully accepting the content of the stances adopted at the LCY Conference and the critical spirit in the delegates' speeches, our members saw the last few months of Yugoslavia's social reality as a clash between the forces characterized by inertia and the will to defend the existing situation on the one hand, and the forces who seek changes on the other hand, forces that offer several options. The LCY found itself without a fully developed strategy, pushed to the limit by the threat of the economy's collapse, with an inadequate sociopolitical system, without enough time for a statutory procedure for its own transformation, with the process of federalization and nonfunctioning of democratic centralism almost incomplete, and put between the LCY Central Committee and the republican-provincial LC leaderships.

All the sources of the moral force [moralna snaga] of the Yugoslav socialist society as an essential quality of the all-people's defense human factor have been under attack. The process of the disintegration of the spiritual, moral, and material values in the Yugoslav area threatens the most sensitive tissue of our socialist social being: brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Homogenization on a national basis leads to the realization of the confederalist and separatist strivings, with the blessing of the bureaucratic structures of our system, even within the LCY. A climate is spreading in which the sociopolitical involvement of individuals, organs, and organizations is valued above all according to their publicly expressed support for this or that regional "elite."

Homogenization of Working People in Defense Tasks [subhead]

By the logic of the social essence of the YPA, resistance against all these processes is spreading among our personnel. This does not happen only in the regular Army, but also among the millions of reservists who pass through the YPA military training. Our working man feels the danger that is looming over the country. He rallies the ranks within our units. He expresses his patriotism without sentimentalism and approaches the defense tasks with a higher level of responsibility and discipline. Nor does he hide his indignation at the situation, and even more at the inertia and indecisiveness in settling the accounts with the protagonists of our divisions and the enemies of self-managing, socialist, nonaligned Yugoslavia. Thus a peculiar homogenization of the working people is arising on defense tasks, regardless of their nationality. Yugoslav socialist patriotism and a high consciousness of the necessity to defend the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution lie at the basis of this process. It may appear a paradox to some people, but this consciousness is growing and is being transformed into a material force despite the existing negative social trends. One could perhaps find an explanation in the social disposition, or what we call the mentality, of our people, but this also indicates the possibility that a breakthrough may be made within the proclaimed reforms by relying on this force with the help of appropriate organization and direct political mobilization.

Does this not present a chance for the LCY? I am convinced it does, but for leading this force one requires a somewhat different social affirmation than the affirmation acquired by the existing LCY leaderships through their disunity, opportunism, particularism, or bureaucratic enclosures, and the petty bourgeois quarreling conceit of some of their members.

Proceeding from all these perceptions, the YPA Communists accept the draft document "The Direct Tasks and Activities of the LCY in Overcoming the Unfavorable Political, Economic, and Social Situation in the Country" as a good foundation for preparing the stances at this session on solving the acute problems that are shaking the country. They think that it is less important how a particular task is precisely formulated, but consider that it is extremely important to achieve ideological and action unity on the essence of the tasks, and even more important to manifest unity in implementing them. Experiences with the tasks, conclusions, and stances adopted earlier show that it is necessary to define the responsibility, to determine how to supervise the implementation, and to define the ideopolitical measures for a possible nonimplementation of the obligations undertaken. If the LCY does not change its practice in this respect, it will inevitably face even sharper reactions of mass dissatisfaction, such as have been expressed recently through various forms of public gatherings and protests.

Public Gatherings Are Part of Our Reality [subhead]

Accepting the provisions of Point 10 of the draft "Direct Tasks," the YPA Communists point out that several kinds of public gatherings occur on our political scene, and they cannot be evaluated a priori without knowing the causes, motives, contents, and the organizers, and without an assessment of the consequences for the local and general social community. One cannot accept "black and white" evaluations. Public gatherings are a part of our reality, and they cannot be questioned as a citizens' right provided that they do not lead to the destruction of the foundations on which the legitimate system rests. At the basis of these occurrences, there is the dissatisfaction of the working people and citizens, to the accumulation of which the institutions of the system have not reacted adequately and in time. It is the task of the organized subjective forces to direct this energy constructively. To the extent that the institutions manifest their readiness, ability, and efficiency—primarily through preventive measures, followed by subsequent activities—the consequences will be seen to be positive or negative. Any public gathering can misuse and manipulate the irrational feelings of people, and therefore one must have good organization and forces, as well as means to use them. In our situation, gatherings on a national basis—and especially transferring them from one republic to another against the political assessment of the respective leadership—do not serve the purpose. The final outcome of the political public gatherings may therefore also be posed as a question of the involvement of the organized subjective forces of a community.

A lively interest of our personnel has also been generated by Point 14 of the document that is under discussion. The attacks on the all-people's defense and the YPA can be considered from several aspects. I would mention the subjective aspect. The conviction of our personnel that they are performing an honorable and socially responsible task that demands efforts and sacrifice, going without many personal and family satisfactions, is confronted drastically and all the time by unscrupulous insults to the dignity of persons and institutions, insinuations or unfounded suspicions, and even physical attacks. This is filling people with indignation and resulting in violent reactions and demands for more efficient protection by political subjects of the system. All this has a negative impact on the consciousness of the YPA members, reduces their motivation, and is a psychological burden to them, particularly when perpetrators of such an activity are social institutions or individuals holding responsible offices.

The realization of tasks on cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium is given full support. Cadre changes in themselves cannot solve the numerous problems that burden the LCY, but it would be even more difficult to start reforms without them.

It is extremely important that we in the LCY discuss all the open and big questions of Yugoslavia's present and future. This is the essential prerequisite for a more efficient commitment on the part of the LCY.

YPA Communists are convinced that things can no longer go on in the old way. One must put an end to divisions. They must give way to ideological unity and on all Yugoslav orientation of the LCY .

DELO Analyzes Milosevic's Acts

AU2610141788 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Oct 88 p 19

[Mile Setinc article: "Portrait of the Week: Slobodan Milosevic"]

[Text] It is a name that has been most frequently heard among the Yugoslavs in recent months and has also appeared on front pages of the most reputable world newspapers. A politician who is the subject of the most contradictory emotions and appraisals that have ever been shared by any postwar Yugoslav politician. In one part of the country he has had the honor of being the first man after Tito to be celebrated in songs during his lifetime and celebrated with all the ardor, tenderness, and imagination of which the tradition of folk poetry in that part of the country is capable; but in some other parts of the country he has been characterized by words which we do not even dare to put on paper—calling him a Stalinist has been perhaps the mildest of these characterizations. The Rakovica workers who, under the leadership of their trade union organizations, proclaimed themselves as the vanguard of the Yugoslav workers class and mounted two veritable assaults on the Federal Assembly, turned from a howling mob that reviled and whistled down anyone (including some Serbian politicians) who appeared before them, into "lambs" when he addressed them, even though he told them nothing concrete and certainly nothing that would be directly related to their demands for wages that would be worthwhile. There are probably many people who—as it is said—would be prepared to jump in fire for him, whereas his name inspires nothing but fear among many other people. This man is Slobodan Milosevic or "Slobo-Slobodo" for his admirers, "leader" [Russian term "vozhd" used] for his deriders, and "baby face" [English term used] for the specious writings by Anglo-Saxon journalists.

His name had not featured in any important cadre combinations until the time when he politically exterminated "Stambolic's followers" in a violent factional settling of accounts (he himself had been one of "Stambolic's followers" previously, but he broke with them on tactical questions concerning the solving of the Kosovo problem; they allegedly favored the conventional policy toward Kosovo, a policy marked by the syntagma that "the Kosovo problems cannot be solved overnight"). He is said to have had proved himself as an excellent bank official and some of his acquaintances during that period in his life remember him as an intelligent, polished, and even prudent(!) man. His rise has been too sudden and too rapid to make it possible as early as now to answer the old questions that torment all those who describe and explain "great historical figures:" Is he a political genius who acts according to a scenario prepared in advance or is he simply a man who has found himself in the right place at the right time and has said the right things; but if he is perhaps a combination of both of these elements, which of them is predominant? The answers to these questions are not merely of academic interest because Milosevic has launched a mass movement that has had no equal in our postwar history. If this movement is primarily a controlled and directed movement, it will perhaps be satisfied with more or less rational goals (rational, of course, from the viewpoint of definite interests), as for instance, with the restoration of "Serbia's statehood in its entire territory." However, if what is involved is primarily an eruption of passions that have found compensation for the economic debacle and the disintegration of the old system of values in "Serbism", the matter may very well end where all thinking will express itself in the sound of the (military) trumpet, as Bosko Krunic put it at the 17th LCY Central Committee Session. Unfortunately, this division, too, may be too scholastic. The banal truth is that no genius can be in complete command of certain complicated developments. Another truth is that any accumulation of power in a single hand is not exactly a boost to sober judgement, especially as long as such an accumulation is accompanied by easy victories.

At the 17th LCY Central Committee Session that just ended, it was possible to uncover the bottom of some secrets of Milosevic's political charm for his followers and of the fear and respect that he instills in his opponents. He is not exactly a born speaker; his delivery is somewhat rapid and it is obvious that he is more accustomed to reading his speeches than to ad-lib. However, what he reads is something new in Yugoslav political practice. Milosevic has simply "stepped out" of the bounds of the iron political jargon of our politicians, a jargon that has continued to assert and petrify itself for decades. His speeches include no long and involved sentences whose meaning is grasped by the audience only after it has worked its way through five or six subordinate clauses. In his speeches there is none of that compulsive theorizing which appears in every speech—even on the most banal occasions—and seems to try to cover the entire "world historical" significance of past, present, and future events on our soil.

In the same way, his speeches contain none of those strings of shallow phrases that are strewn without meaning or order and are often even mutually contradictory as in many speeches heard in our country. His speeches are delivered in short and simple sentences that are filled with metaphors, comparisons, and slogans that are easily understood by everyone and that therefore can quickly turn into "folk sayings." For instance, what still rings in our ears from statements at the 17th LCY Central Committee Session is the little story about a strange night that has continued in Kosovo for 6 years now ("although until now we have only heard about the polar night that lasts 6 months") or the statesman-like statement about a Serbia that has no claims to territories of other republics but does have claims in its own territory. It would also be possible to dispute these statements with long discussions: The Kosovo problems certainly cannot be solved in 6 years or over a much longer period, at least not in the way imagined by the mass movement in Serbia (except by so-called unreasonable methods); Serbia's statehood is and will continue to be limited by the facts that Kosovo is predominantly Albanian; that Vojvodina has very important and specific ethnic, economic, cultural, and historical characteristics; and so forth. However, Milosevic's speeches are not intended for discussion; they are a demonstration of power and determination because of which even the eternally rebellious rock singer Boro Djordjevic "is no longer ashamed to say that he is a Serb." Briefly, Milosevic's speeches contain something that our flatterers call "the word of the Master."

After the 17th LCY Central Committee Session many foreign journalists hastened to claim that Milosevic was the big loser of the session because he and his group obviously remained isolated and because he was given quite a few verbal slaps in the introductory speech and subsequent discussion even though these slaps were wrapped up in words and, as a rule, not directly aimed. Although the lucidity of foreign journalists exceeds by far the articulateness of statements by our politicians, we would prefer in this case to decide in favor of the meaning of Suvar's statement that there were no winners or losers at the session. It is true, however, that the plan certainly failed to push through great cadre changes in the federal party leadership and especially the resignations of Kosovo officials by means of a psychological pressure of "calling to account" the politicians considered disagreeable by the mass movement in Serbia. Precisely to the contrary, the only one who was given the vote of non-confidence was Serbia's "second man." However, let us not forget that four politicians had already resigned prior to the session and that some members of the federal Central Committee almost begged Dusan Ckrebic to withdraw his resignation. Milosevic was the moral victor in the last act of the 17th session when he cut short the "pathetic discussion" and, despite the warning finger raised by Vinko Hafner, announced with a thunderous voice that, before "some forum" could decide on that, the party rank-and-file base in Serbia would first say its word about Ckrebic's resignation.

It can be concluded on the basis of the latest news, especially the news about the postponment of the Belgrade rally and Milosevic's positive appraisal of the 17th session in his address to Rakovica workers, that Milosevic is not a politician who would demand the impossible (the renowned "lightly made promises" are something else) and that he is trying to "settle the ball." The same cannot be said about the Kosovo politicians. Is there now a period in the offing that will be the most difficult one for—Slobodan Milosevic?

Suvar Addresses Belgrade Military on Reform

LD2610172788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Within the framework of the regular program of ideopolitical education for active military personnel and for civilians in service in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, addressed the staff of the Belgrade garrison at the YPA Club in Belgrade today. Speaking about the messages of the 17th session and the tasks of communists, Suvar especially stressed the need for unified action by the party membership in carrying out the three reforms. In this connection he pointed to the need to deal more quickly with the main trouble spots in the economy and with other problems facing our society.

Majority of Kosovo Children Return to School

LD2610172488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—The majority of Serb and Montenegrin schoolchildren in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today returned to school after boycotting classes for more than a month, the provincial committee for education said today.

Classes are still boycotted by secondary-school pupils in Urosevac, but they are expected to return by the end of the week.

The boycott was occasioned by increasingly frequent attacks on the children by ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists.

The attacks are part of a pressure campaign by the separatists aimed at driving the remaining Serbs and Montenegrins, now accounting for a mere 10 per cent of the province's population, out of the region.

An ethnically pure Kosovo would be a first step towards the separatists' goal—wresting Kosovo from Yugoslavia and joining it to neighbouring Albania.

The end of the boycott is a result of a police action ensuring peace at Kosovo schools.

Looking after the schoolchildren's personal safety is one of the tasks of a federal paramilitary police unit, dispatched to Kosovo last year to assist in the struggle against ethnic Albanian separatists.

Decision on Montenegrin Council Resignation Postponed

LD2610132388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, 26 October (TANJUG)—Delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly at separate sessions today postponed making a decision on the collective resignation of the Executive Council which was submitted by that organ last night after a quarter of its members failed to receive the confidence of delegates. Although the members of the Executive Council demanded several times, both last night and this morning, that the delegates make a decision on the irrevocable resignation of the Republican government, the opinion prevailed that the discussion and decision on this should be postponed until one of the coming sessions, so that vital consultations can be carried out meanwhile in the corresponding Republican organs.

Montenegro Assembly Blames Kosovo Leaders for Crisis
LD2610180188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the province of Kosovo bears the most responsibility for the intensification of the crisis in the interethnic relations in that region, the assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro said today.

It was also noted that the competent authorities in the province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, have not been able to restore order in Kosovo for almost eight years.

The long-drawn out unsuccessful solving of the drama of the Serbs and Montenegrins who are emigrating from the province under pressure by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists cannot be justified by anything, making necessary a cadre renewal in the provincial leadership, the assembly concluded.

Claim on Vojvodina Officials Secret Meetings Denied
AU2610194988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] According to the Sremska Mitrovica communal public prosecutor, the claim of Dragan Dzolic voiced at a meeting held in Sremska Mitrovica on 7 October is untrue.

Dragan Dzolic is cited as having said on that occasion before a large number of citizens that former provincial leaders had held several secret meetings with representatives of Slovenia and Croatia in (?villas) Ravne and Veliki Salas of the Sremska Mitrovica penitentiary from July to 12 September discussing the fate of Vojvodina and and Yugoslavia in general and did so because they wanted to keep their offices.

The Sremska Mitrovica communal prosecutor pointed out that this claim of Dragan Dzolic is untrue and that such meetings were not held.

Candidate For Slovene Presidency Withdraws
LD2610213888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Silvo Gorenc, one of the candidates listed for membership to the Slovene Presidency, today sent to Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, a letter informing him that he is withdrawing his candidature for this post.

In the letter, Gorenc stressed that his stances, which were supported, stem from the firm conviction that it is possible and necessary to create a society of modern, rich, and democratic self-managing socialism in a sovereign socialist republic of Slovenia and in the framework of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia. Since the candidates for this post, Zivko Pregl and Dr Ivan Ribnikar, are also advocating such stances, I propose that support be given to their candidature, Silvo Gorenc wrote.

Bosnia-Herecegovina Court President Appointed
LD2610110388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0745 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—On the proposal of the Republican Presidency, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly at its latest session elected Dr Pero Krijan to the post of president of the Republican Constitutional Court.

Vrhovic Financial Claim Denied
LD1710231588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's general accounting office (Federal Finance Control) today qualified as untrue claims by Josip Vrhovec, chairman of the organisational committee of the last year's world university students' games (Universiad'87), that the Republic of Croatia's social auditing service had no objections to financial operations concerning the games held in Zagreb, Yugoslavia's republic of Croatia, in July last year.

There were objections, but the organisational committee did not approve them, Yugoslavia's social auditing service (SDKJ) said in a communique released here today.

Also as untrue was assessed Vrhovic's claim that the federal financial control was twice informed on the Universiad's financial operations. The world university students' games financial operations were not covered in two letters sent the SDKJ on the occasion of this sports manifestation last year.

The claims denied today were set out by Vrhovic, a member of Yugoslavia's party leadership, at a session of the party leadership of Croatia in whose territory the city of Zagreb, host to last year's Universiad, is situated.

The finding that the competent branch office of the SDK in Zagreb did not not qualitatively and thoroughly done its task was the reason for starting a complete auditing of financial operations done by the Universiad's organisational committee during which a whole series of irregularities was detected.

At that time, it was found that the Universiad's organisational committee had done practically no bookkeeping at all and, so, almost 31 billion dinars (8.5 million dollars) of the basic turnover tax money was ceded, outside the law, to producers of goods bearing Universiad markings.

The auditing of expenditures showed that 14.5 billion dinars (four million dollars) was not set aside as specific-purpose funds.

A report on illegal transactions and irregularities found in the Universiad's financial operations has been sent to the federal parliament which should establish the weight of and possible social danger from the illegal transactions found.

Vitina Workers Protest Director's Conduct

LD2610181088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—More than 60 workers of Serbian, Montenegrin, and Croatian nationality from the Vineks factory in Vitina came to the Kosovo Assembly today to highlight once again the bureaucratic, nationalistic, and nonself-managing behavior of the director general, Ramadan Hasani, and a group of managers of the collective. In 2 and ½ hour talks with Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the Provincial Assembly, this group of workers gave a series of examples of harassment and nationalistic behavior directed toward them on the one hand, and on the other the employment and promotion of the director's proteges who participated in the demonstrations of 1981 or made statements from a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The workers also said that the director, Hasani, enjoys the support of Ekrem Arifi, a member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

After Jokanovic promised that provincial activists will come tomorrow to their work organization and help resolve the anomalies on the spot, which they have been pointing to for several years now, the Vineks workers were returned to their homes by bus.

DNEVNIK Notes Vojvodina Election Preparations

LD2710132388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0834 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—"The League of Communists of Vojvodina is in the grip of a very vigorous and intensive activity aimed at differentiation, consolidation, and cadre renewal in the party organs following the events in Novi Sad and the resignation of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee." DNEVNIK of Novi Sad states this today in an article under the headline "Renewal from Top to Bottom". The article goes on to say that "similar action is underway in 15 municipal committees whose either complete Presidiums or just presidents or secretaries have resigned".

According to DNEVNIK, in Vojvodina today "the attention of party members is centered on the upcoming meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, which is expected to elect a new leadership and at the same time make a critical assessment of the situation in Vojvodina's party organization. A working group the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee formed to carry out the executive-political duties of the presidium is at the center of these activities".

DNEVNIK goes on to say that the party organizations and municipal committees have submitted about 800 proposals for candidates for the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the LCY Central Committee. "In other words more candidates have been put forward than prior to the 18th Vojvodina LC Conference, when the last elections took place". "For the current by-election, the candidate lists will contain 50 percent more candidates than will be elected. For instance, the candidate list for the new Presidium includes (?24) names. By the next session of the Vojvodina LC Provicial Committee the list will be reduced to 16 candidates. Out of this number, 11 will be elected to the new Presidium". The Provincial Committee will also undergo changes, the paper says. It is expected that 20 or 30 of the present members will leave for various reasons: dismissal, resignation, health reasons, and others or in compliance with the criteria adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

"The six-member group of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee has almost completed the task with which it has been entrusted. Considerable help was provided by working groups of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee".

"The meetings of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee will take place in the second half of next week. The Provincial Committee is faced with the task of formulating criteria for a critical assessment of the situation in Vojvodina LC to be used as a departure point for further differentiation within the party membership and for establishing collective and individual responsibility. In addition to considering the issue of cadre renewal in the Provincial Committee and its organs, a decision will be made at the meeting about an extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC," DNEVNIK states in today's issue.

TU Leader Orozen Interviewed

AU2410172788 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Marjan Orozen, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, by Nikolay [illegible]anov: "Toward Stabilization in the Political and Economic Spheres"—in Sofia, date not given]

[Text] Events in Yugoslavia during recent months have evoked great interest among the world public and were the focus of attention for the SFRY's neighbor countries, which viewed these events with some concern. The 17th LCY Central Committee plenum answered numerous questions in this respect. Measures were adopted to overcome the crisis through reforms in legislation as well as in the economic and party activities. Lively commentaries on these events continue. Therefore we were grateful to Marjan Orozen, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, who was one of the participants in the aforementioned plenum, for his readiness to give us an interview. He arrived in Sofia at the head of a delegation of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council.

[Stefanov] Comrade Orozen, the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum evoked great interest abroad and certain Western newspapers suggested that this was allegedely a power struggle of individual republics within the federation. Our question is: What factor prevailed at the 17th LCY Plenum?

[Orozen] The awareness that we must devote all our efforts to the stabilization of the political and economic situation in Yugoslavia prevailed at the plenum. The LCY Central Committee plenum adopted an action program, which established a basis for all social forces to concentrate on the 15 problems outlined in the program in order to overcome the political and social crisis. The plenum gave a new impetus to the unity of Yugoslav Communists and of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, as well as of all social forces within the country. From this point of view the aforementioned speculations truly remained nothing but speculations without any justification whatsoever as regards life in our country.

[Stefanov] How should we understand the personnel changes within the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the forthcoming replacement of one third of the Central Committee personnel?

[Orozen] As for the changes within the LCY Central Committee, they are based on the opportunities granted by the Party Statute. According to this statute one third of the composition of the Central Committee may be replaced in the period between congresses. The changes that will be accomplished should make it possible to recruit young people with new ideas for the Central Committee, people who will contribute to the practical implementation of the policy adopted at the plenum. There is no question of a nucleus which allegedly existed within the Central Committee and was against the reforms. The truth is that the new cadres about to be recruited will also contribute to the consolidation of the reforms. Another question is the one concerning the changes within the LCY Presidium. Certain comrades resigned of their own free will, while others were forced to resign as a result of the criticism directed at them at mass meetings held in the Federal Republic of Serbia throughout 1988. Taking this criticism into consideration, they understood that it would be better for them and for the LCY if they were no longer to carry out their functions. This is, actually, their own contribution to purifying and consolidating the position of the party leadership.

[Stefanov] Can we expect that the demonstrations, which were the largest mass demonstrations in postwar Yugoslavia, will subside as a result of this?

[Orozen] The demonstrations fulfilled their role in the sense that the majority of the demands voiced at them were satisfied. I have in mind the constitutional changes and the relations within the Republic of Serbia, that is, relations between Serbia and the autonomous regions. However, I do not think that demonstrations will disappear as a democratic form of manifestation. Another question, however, is the fact that problems can be voiced at demonstrations, but cannot be resolved by them. Problems should be resolved by state institutions. If these institutions are unable to solve problems that emerge in practical life, they should be improved.

[Stefanov] During the demonstrations in question numerous economic demands of the working people were voiced as well....

[Orozen] This is quite normal, since the problems connected with the living standard were recently exacerbated because of a great price increase. Dissatisfaction with the situation was voiced at the demonstrations, even more so since the political problems cannot be separated from the socioeconomic ones.

[Stefanov] Can you describe the role played by the Federation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in certain activities of the working people that have distinguished the events of 1988—such as the strikes and marches to the SFRY Assembly?

[Orozen] The working people marched to the Assembly because for a long time the trade unions were unable to cope with the existing problems. People from collectives, where the restructuring processes are rather slow and enterprises are technologically backward, participated in the marches. These problems should have been resolved on the spot. At the same time the strikes and marches to the Federal Assembly represented a serious warning and criticism against the trade unions because they were not sufficiently persevering in trying to solve the problems of the collectives.

[Stefanov] What is your opinion, as a trade union leader, regarding the reasons for the obstacles impeding the implementation of the present Yugoslav model of self-management?

[Orozen] I would like to point out, in the first place, that it was not the system of self-management itself that acted as an obstacle. The fact that, instead of struggling for increased productivity, we borrowed money from foreign countries resulted in a an artificial income. Another thing that obstructed our progress was the ever increasing interference of the state with the distribution of incomes through various instructions and decisions on the conditions of management. Self-management is viable only when it really makes decisions on and bears responsibility for the results of economic activities, which, in the long run, are expressed in incomes. Without the existence of real incomes, self-management remains on paper.

[Stefanov] Can we "attribute" the problem of unemployment in Yugoslavia to the system of self-management?

[Orozen] It is difficult to say. I would rather attribute unemployment to the fact that the initiative of self-management was obstructed by the interference of the state. On the other hand—your question is appropriate, since certain selfish trends emerged within the self-management system itself, such as people saying: The important thing is that I am working and earning good money today, I do not care what happens to the future generations. This is the reason why the trend is more toward consumption than toward development.

Drought Causes $1 Billion Damage

LD2610111588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0330 GMT 26 Oct 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—This year's drought has decimated the corn, sugar beet, sunflower and soya harvest in Yugoslavia, causing over one billion dollars damage, President of the Federal Committee for Agriculture Sava Vujkov has stated in Novi Sad.

Vujkov stressed that the effects of the drought are on the scale of a natural disaster occuring once in 30 years, and that Yugoslavia's foreign trade balance will suffer as a result.

The need to import and the inability to carry out the planned export of agricultural products will cost the country one billion dollars. Although the extent of the damage has not been precisely established, it is evident that the consequences will be complex and far-reaching.

Yugoslavia's agricultural industry does not have the material or financial means to bear the burden of last and this year's droughts alone, although the government has adopted appropriate measures, Vujkov said.

TANJUG Feature on 'Political Vocabulary'

LD2610152788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 26 Oct 88

["Terror of Political Vocabulary"—TANJUG headline; by Ivan Ivkovic; "pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 26 (TANJUG)—Political vocabulary in Yugoslavia is among the most complex and incomprehensible in the world. This is witnessed by the great problems encountered by simultaneous interpreters every time they have to explain specific terminology used in Yugoslavia to foreigners.

The Yugoslav bureaucracy, for example, uses sole business official instead of director, complex organisation or unit of associated labor instead of basic economic subject, subjective political forces instead of political organisations, instructor of class instruction instead of teacher, political cadre instead of officials.

Dr Ljubisa Rajic, professor at Belgrade University's School of Philosophy, established that political vocabulary in Yugoslavia developed in several stages, becoming increasingly complex and unclear and increasingly a dialogue between officials sharing the same views even when addressed to the people.

Yugoslav political terminology is subdivided into several groups and the language used in the party has undergone the greatest metamorphosis. According to Dr Rajic, there are four stages in the development of party language.

The first stage covers the period from the break with the Cominform to the introduction of self-management. It is characterized by short and clear sentences, a black-and-white picture of the world, strong emotionalism and is directed at people who share the same views.

The second stage lasts until the introduction of the LCY new programme in 1958. The sentences are longer and not so clear, the emotional impact is not so strong, and self- management terminology is used even when addressing those who do not share the same views.

In the third stage, the Sixties, sentences are long, complicated, difficult to understand or completely incomprehensible phrases are used more frequently, economic terminology is on the rise and those who do not share the same views are linguistically treated as enemies.

In the fourth period, characterized by disintegration processes in the Yugoslav society, messages are more and more frequently sent to lower-ranking people and non-party members, and people who do not share the same views are less frequently treated as enemies.

Yugoslavia's political language is not only burdened by phrases of minor meaning, meaningless syntax, and the bureaucratic piling up of attributives. Words whose meaning is clear are placed in a sequence so that they acquire an entirely different meaning to that found in a dictionary.

In Yugoslavia, known stands are taken to mean bad stands, hostile to the system, implying that the public must reject them—precisely because they are known, even though, as a rule, the public knows nothing about them.

The concepts a positive zero and socialization of losses, which have nothing to do with ordinary logic, and also have no positive connotation, are even used by poorly educated people at the tactically right time.

Often, the public cannot understand the speakers at all, and a large number of people do not understand the language of the law, on which their lives depend.

Often, the public cannot understand the speakers at all, and a large number of people do not understand the language of the law, on which their lives depend.

The provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution are among the least comprehensive formulations of a country's highest legislature, Belgrade philologists say.

Mikulic Congratulates CSSR'S Adamec

LD1410174888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic has sent a telegram of congratulations to Ladislav Adamec on the occasion of his election to the post of premier of the CSSR federal government.

Serbian Oficial, Abramowitz Hold Talks

LD1410140288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—Dr Borisav Jovic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, today received Morton Abramowitz, the U.S. assistant secretary of state, and had talks with him about particular aspects of Yugoslav-U.S. cooperation in which the Socialist Republic of Serbia participates, as well as about other current topics which are of interest to both sides. The U.S. Ambassador in Yugoslavia, John Douglas Scanlan, participated in the talks.

During the visit to Belgrade, Abramowitz conducted an exchange of views in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Dolanc Discusses Relations with GDR's Tisch

LD1210105188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2221 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—Stane Dolanc, the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, received today Harry Tisch, president of the Free German Trade Unions Federation (FDGB), a member of the SED Politburo, and a member of the State Council of the GDR. Dolanc is visiting our country at the invitation of the SFRY Trade Union Federation Council. In friendly talks, the further development of successful relations between the SFRY and GDR and cooperation between the two countries' trade union organizations were discussed.

Suvar Receives Indian Party Leader

LD1210233188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade 12 oct (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Ghulam Nabi Azad, general secretary of the Indian National Congress (I), who is on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In the talks, which passed off in a very cordial atmosphere, readiness was expressed on both sides concerning the further development of the traditionally good cooperation between the two parties.

It was stated that this cooperation represents an important factor in the development of overall relations between the two friendly nonaligned countries. Azad conveyed to Suvar cordial greetings from Rajiv Gandhi, as well as his personal greetings in connection with the election of Yugoslavia as host of the ninth conference of the nonaligned countries in 1989.

In separate talks, Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Azad exchanged information of the current activities of the LC and the Indian National Congress on the internal and international level. There was particular discussion of the policy of nonalignment and the role of progressive parties and movements in the global social processes in the modern world. Here there was a reference to the proximity of stances on current international questions and note was made of the need for a continued dialogue between the representatives of the two parties. To this end specific forms of interparty cooperation were agreed for the period ahead.

Serbian-Ukrainian Cultural Protocol Signed

LD1310105488 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] As a part of preparations for cultural cooperation between the governments of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union for the period 1989-91, a protocol on cultural cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Ukrainian SSR was signed in Zagreb today. The protocol was signed by Ivan Timofeyevich Matyenko for the Ukrainian republican section of the All-Union Copyright Agency, and by Zdenko Frid, director of the Copyright Agency of Croatia. Here is a report by Djurdja Matkovic:

[Matkovic] It is a responsible and noble task to establish and to stimulate cultural links, especially international links. It is therefore worthwhile singling out the protocol signed today which envisions cooperation in the coming period and which, in turn, will initiate direct links between copyright agencies at the level of republics which maintain friendly relations.

According to this program and in order to protect the interests of soviet authors in our republic and of Yugoslav authors in the Soviet Union and in the Ukraine, an exchange in the fields of literature, science, and the arts is envisioned. It must be said that this protocol represents a basis for future cooperation between the two agencies, for example, in taking part in international book fairs in Belgrade and in Moscow, organizing various exhibitions, and in making use of and exchanging expert and information ideas and projects in the fields of science, liteature, theater, cinema, and other forms of creativity.

We might also mention that a similar protocol was signed recently by the republics of Serbia and Georgia.

Reportage on Visit by PRC's Gen Yang Baibing

Visits Tito Memorial

LD1710040188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—The director of the General Political department of the PRC People's Liberation Army, General Yang Baibing who, together with an accompanying delegation, is visiting the SFRY's armed forces, today visited the Josip Broz tito memorial center. He paid tribute to President Tito, laid flowers, and signed the visitors' book.

During the day, General Yang Baibing had talks with Lieutenant Colonel General Simeon Buncic, the deputy federal secretary for national defense. The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere in the Yugoslav People's Army club in Belgrade.

Received By Defense Secretary

LD1810173488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, today received Colonel General Yang Baibing, director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), who is heading a Chinese military delegation on a friendly visit to our country and armed forces. As reported, during talks which were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, interarmy cooperation between the two friendly socialist countries was discussed. It was stated with satisfaction that relations and cooperation between the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and the Chinese PLA, in accordance with good interstate relations, are developing to general satisfaction and that all conditions for their further, more substanital and comprehensive deepening exist. Lieutant Colonel General Simeon Buncic, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Major General Marko Negovanovic, head of political administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; Major General Nedeljko Tica, secretary of the Presidium of the LC organization in the YPA and other officers of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense were present at the reception and the talks. Ma Xucheng, the PRC'S ambassador in the SFRY, and Senior Colonel Lu Guangye, military, naval and air attache, were also present at the talks.

Talks with Military Officials

LD2010093088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—As part of their visit to our country and the SFRY armed forces, a delegation of the PRC People's Liberation Army, headed by Colonel General Yang Baibing, held talks today with Vice Admiral Petar Simovic, president of the Presidium of the committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. PRC ambassador to the SFRY, Ksie Li, [name as received], and Senior Colonel Lu Guangye, military, naval, and air attache, were also present. Also today, Colonel General Baibing, director of the General Political Department of the PRC People's Liberation Army, visited his host, Lieutenant Colonel General Simeon Buncic, assistant federal secretary for national defense. They talks, which were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, covered political work in the two armies.

The delegation from friendly China concludes its visit to our armed forces on 20 October.

Economic Cooperation With UK Discussed

LD1210184388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1740 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—Great Britain should intercede more with the European community for removing the difficulties in the exports of Yugoslav goods to the markets of "the Twelve," Yugoslav Chamber of Economy President Milan Pavic and Anglo-Yugoslav Trade Council President John Cooper noted in talks here today.

They expressed satisfaction with the volume and structure of trade between Yugoslavia and Great Britain. Total exchange amounted to 590 million dollars last year and 190 million dollars in the first five months of this year. The target for 1988 is 680 million dollars.

Cooper and Pavic also concluded that possibilities for British investments in the Yugoslav economy were insufficiently utilized.

Reportage on Loncar UN Activities

Meets Counterparts 1 Oct

AU0610093688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 88 p 7

[Text] United Nations, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav delegation led by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, continued its intensive activities at the UN General Assembly.

Yesterday, Loncar and his associates held meetings with the foreign ministers of eight more countries: Syria, Iran, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Cuba, Spain, and Democratic Kampuchea.

All talks centered on bilateral relations with special reference to economic cooperation.

Addresses Nonaligned Ministers 3 Oct

AU1210210988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 88 p 1

[Report by Bogdan Decermic, permanent BORBA correspondent: "Applause to Belgrade"]

[Excerpts] New York, 4 Oct— "It is with exceptional pleasure that I inform you that the constitutional procedure has been carried out in Yugoslavia, and propose that the ninth conference of the heads of states or governments of nonaligned countries be held in Belgrade at the beginning of September, that is, in the first week of September 1989."

This was what Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said in his address to foreign ministers of nonaligned countries who gathered at the United Nations yesterday, something that has become usual practice at the beginning of the regular meeting of the UN General Assembly.

The proposal met with applause. It was received with satisfaction and included into the official communique issued on this session. The host will soon inform Zimbabwe, the present coordinator of the Nonaligned Movement, about the exact date of the ninth summit.

Addressing his colleagues, Loncar said the following:

"Let me use this occasion to thank you all on behalf of the SFRY Government and its people for the confidence you have shown to my country in asking it to host the ninth summit. We in Yugoslavia have understood this as a great recognition of our commitment so far to strengthen the movement and realize the aims of the nonaligned policy. This fills us with a feeling of pride and, at the same time, of greater responsibility to make our full contribution in the future—when we chair the Nonaligned Movement—to strengthening its unity, place, and role in international relations."

In the Country of the First Summit [subhead]

Therefore, it is finally official that the next summit of the nonaligned countries will be held in the country and in the town where the first summit of the movement was held—in the capital of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted on other speakers at the ministerial meeting]

Taking part in the debate, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said at the beginning that the ministerial sessions of nonaligned countries held at the beginning of the UN General Assembly sessions have always been extremely useful and significant in establishing the nonaligned countries' priorities and their joint action.

Job Done in Cyprus [subhead]

"This time," Loncar went on to say, "we can say that we did this job in Cyprus. The beginning of this session of the UN General Assembly confirms the evaluations that we jointly reached in Cyprus. The constructive atmosphere and readiness for cooperation expressed by the members of the UN have strengthened our belief that the current session will provide a further stimulus for the favorable trends in the world."

Already by its very nature, Loncar went on to say, the Nonaligned Movement is oriented toward the United Nations. This session is an opportunity to implement the orientations we reached in Cyprus and give support to what is positive and new in international relations. "I think that it is particularly important," Loncar pointed out, "that we make an effort to start to get the international economic problems solved. Otherwise, the favorable trends in some other spheres could be eclipsed [zasenjen]."

"The stances adopted in Nicosia are adequate to the times in which we are living. The movement has once again confirmed that it is up to the responsibility it has in international relations. It confirmed its decisiveness to take part in modern trends as a constructive and global element on the world scene," Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, concluded.

POLITIKA Examines Israeli Relations

AU0810190788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 88 p 3

[Ranko Petkovic commentary: Yugoslavia and Israel"]

[Text] There are two factors which have contributed to the gradual abandonment of taboo foreign policy topics: the process of democratization of our internal policy which, unfortunately, still is not strong enough, and the process of removing ideology from the sphere of international relations which, fortunately, has been gaining momentum. In this context, the question of the possibility and even necessity of reexamining relations between Yugoslavia and Israel was broached by the Yugoslav public several years ago.

There have been several chances to raise that question. First, realistic political possibilities of holding an international peace conference on the Middle East are appearing within the present dynamic changes in international relations, and relations between the big powers in particular. The holding of this conference naturally requires and implies a more tolerant and flexible approach to problems of this inflammable region, not only on the part of all directly involved sides, but also of the wider circle of responsible international factors. Second, a larger number of socialist and nonaligned countries have announced or have already taken certain political or diplomatic steps in opening up toward Israel, regardless of the former unquestioned treatment of Israel as "the bulwark of American imperialism" or "a Zionist and racist creation" in the Middle East. Third, the process of "communicating" with Israel on or behind the scenes has been joined in by individual Arab countries and political groups, regardless of the previously rather widespread opinion that Israel "should be pushed into the sea."

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia's position toward Israel was like a solid brick wall and, what is even worse, frequently identified the Israeli people with the Israeli ruling circles, who bear full or partial responsibility for the longest and gravest crisis in postwar history.

The Resumption of Contacts [subhead]

Since there was the real danger of Yugoslavia finding itself at the rear end of important political events connected with the Middle East crisis, with no real support in its national interests, the process of its "opening up" toward Israel has finally begun. The decision to begin this "opening up" by establishing contacts and dialogue between the SAWPY and those prominent personalities and groups in Israel advocating peace and negotiations with the Arabs, particularly with the Palestinians, can be considered reasonable and wise.

In this connection, Knesset Member M. Peled, a former general and military governor of Jerusalem, has visited Belgrade several times with a number of prominent Israeli figures in order to have talks with SAWP representatives. Obstacles to a broader development of economic cooperation have been removed; flights to Tel Aviv have been introduced; the number of Yugoslav tourists to Israel has increased considerably; cultural exchanges have been expanded; interviews with the most prominent figures on the Israeli political scene have appeared in Yugoslav newspapers and on television; an initiative to set up a Yugoslav-Israeli friendship society has been started, which—regardless of certain implications, mostly in the sphere of the politics of the moment—objectively speaking can have strong support because through the centuries Jews have shared the good and bad with our people, the specter of anti-Semitism did not threaten them as it did some other communities, Yugoslav Jews in Israel have fine memories of their "old homeland," and because we remember them as dear and suffering fellow-countrymen and friends.

In the so-called official sphere, however, there have been no visible moves. A "courteous" meeting between SFRY Presidency Member Lazar Mojsov was followed a little later by the meeting of the "colleagues," Raif Dizdarevic, at that time federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Peres during a UN General Assembly meeting in New York; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, recently continued the tradition of exchanging views with prominent representatives of the World Jewish Congress; and, as far as we know that would more or less be all that could represent a "thaw" in Yugoslav-Israeli relations, although that has in fact not happened to date.

A competent reply to the effect that there is no ground for the reexamination of Yugoslavia's relations with Israel was provided by the SFRY Assembly Committee for Foreign Affairs: As long as Israel fails to change its aggressive policy, Yugoslavia sees no reason to change anything in its position that led to the interruption of diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967.

Different Opinions [subhead]

At the first and possibly second glance, everything is like this: Israel is still occupying considerable portions of Arab territories, opposes the formation of a sovereign Palestinian state, and continues to act from the position of force.

However, one can also hear different opinions from the Yugoslav public. Regardless of whether they are acceptable or unacceptable, founded or unfounded, they do show that the times are over when resolute assertions that allowed no opposition were never directly and publicly challenged by a series of arguments:

—Did Yugoslavia have to interrupt diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967 although it is known that not only some socialist countries, but also many nonaligned countries failed to do so and, moreover, that by this act, whether it wanted this or not, it considerably narrowed down room for making a much more efficient contribution to solving the Middle East crisis? It is obvious that this question has little practical significance now, post festum; the history of our and world diplomacy will make the final assessment. However, it seems that it is nevertheless present since our official circles think of 1967 as the ABC's of the Yugoslav position toward Israel.

—If the interruption of diplomatic relations with Israel and the persistence about its actions are the expression of the principled nature of Yugoslav policy, how can one then interpret the fact that Yugoslavia did not interrupt diplomatic relations with any of the countries that have acted as aggressors since World war II and moreover maintained very friendly relations with some of them? It is not only the case with great powers that from time to time have acted as aggressors—although it was the attitude toward them that served to test whether somebody's policy is principled or not—but also a number of other countries which one could not simply dismiss as invoking the well-known Latin saying "Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi" ["What is permitted to Jupiter is not permitted to an ox"]

—However, if the interruption of relations with Israel is an expression of the pragmatic nature of Yugoslav policy, considering the political and economic significance of relations with a large number of Arab countries—something which certainly has to be considered and might even be decisive—how can one then interpret the fact that the Yugoslav stance toward Israel has in no way been influenced by the fact that Egypt, which bore the greatest burden of military and other confrontation with Israel, resumed relations with it in the meantime, and that other Arab countries are founding their attitude toward Israel more on pragmatic intersts and less on the fictions of Arab unity of the fifties and sixties? What is one to say to this but that it is difficult to be pragmatic on one hand and more Catholic than the pope on the other?

—Finally, how can one accept the view that nothing has changed in the Middle East and in Israel and around it in the meantime, when it is known that in the seventies West European countries had made a considerable step forward in their opening toward Arab countries and the Palestinians and that now, in the eighties, the entire group of East European socialist countries is making a similar step in opening up toward Israel? Yugoslavia does not belong to either of the "choirs," but the question is still arises whether it can watch Yasir 'Arafat's visit to the EC or Shamir's visit to Budapest with one's fingers crossed?

Pointing to these questions or dilemmas does not in itself represent a plea to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. The only point is to show that Heraclitean laws apply to the sphere of international relations too, and that patterns resulting from the thesis that "nothing is changing" should give way to thoughts and moves which would much better fit the coordinates of the preparations for the international peace conference on the Middle East.